APRIL 1992 $3.50

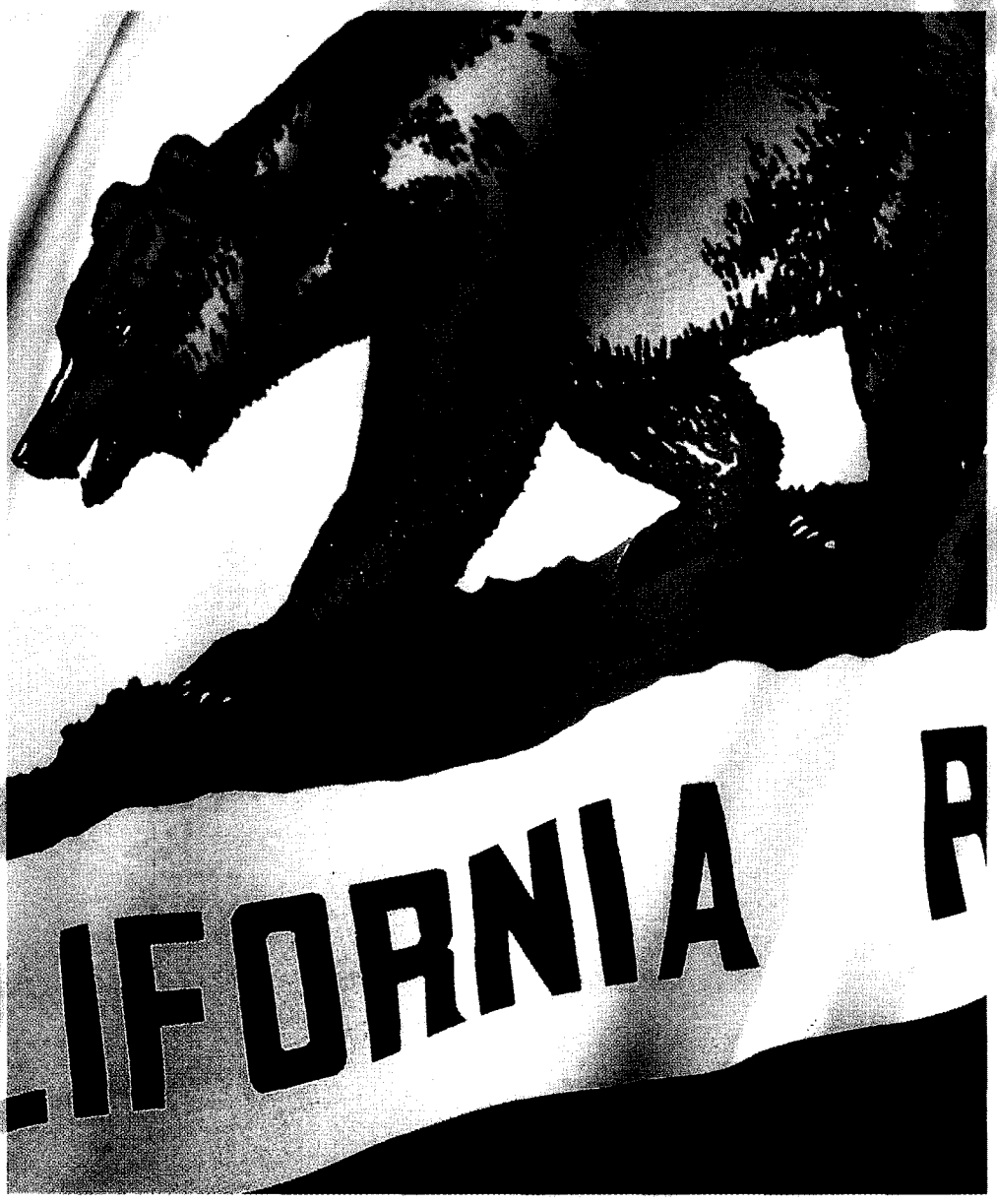
California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Capitol's best

Rating the legislators

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Native Californian

For 125 years our promise has been our policy.

PACIFIC MUTUAL

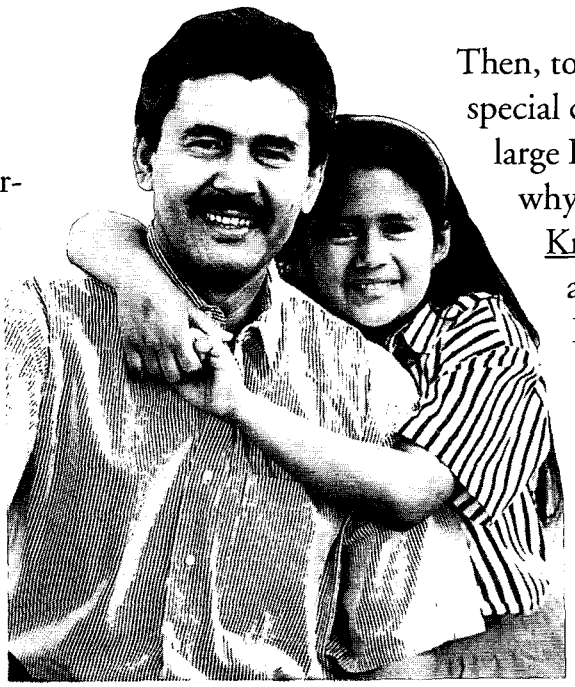
800-800-7646

Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, 700 Newport Center Drive, Newport Beach, CA 92660. Pacific Mutual subsidiaries include: PM Group Life Insurance Company, Employee Benefits America, Pacific Financial Asset Management Corporation (PFAMCo), Pacific Investment Management Company (PIMCO), PMRealty Advisors, Inc., Cadence Capital Management Corporation, NFJ Investment Group, Inc., Parametric Portfolio Associates, Inc., Pacific Equities Network, Mutual Service Corporation, United Planners' Group, Inc.

© 1992 Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Searle. Keeping California in a good state of health.



We care about California's health

One area of vital interest to us is making sure every patient who needs a Searle lifesaving prescription medication can have it, even if he or she cannot afford to pay for it. We understand the burden modern healthcare can place upon a family's budget. In particular, we are thinking of the 6 million Californians — *nearly one in every five* — whose health insurance doesn't cover prescription drugs, *or who may not have any health insurance at all.* Often, such patients go without rather than jeopardize their families' fragile resources.

As far back as 1987 we put our convictions into action with the unique Patients in Need® program.

Through it we make available, *free of charge,* Searle lifesaving prescription drugs to patients who meet the financial need requirements, as certified by their doctors.

Then, too, we are sensitive to the special concerns of California's large Latino population. That's why our Patients in the Know® information sheets are available in both English and Spanish. We believe that language differences should never be a barrier to a patient's understanding of how to use Searle medicines.

Finally, our Sacramento office is a rich resource for state officials who need information regarding healthcare affecting the people of California. We urge policymakers and legislators to phone us at (916) 442-0145.

In short, Searle is here in California *to serve Californians in every way we can.*

With programs of corporate responsibility, like Patients in Need.

With information from the Patients in the Know program.

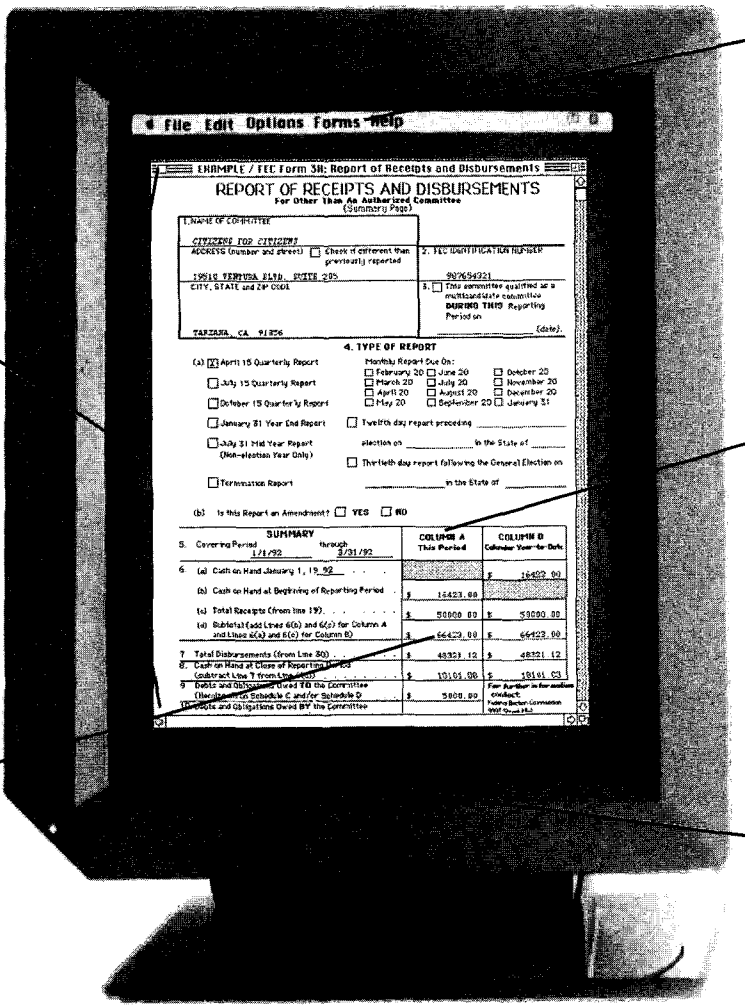
And, of course, with the finest medications we can bring to market.

SEARLE

©1992, Searle A92C '6683T

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Campaign formware at your fingertips.



On-line help is easy. Simply double-click anywhere on the form and Disk-*kloze* reveals complete instructions for that part of the form.

Calculates all columns and automatically transfers the totals to all appropriate forms.

Pull-down menus indicate whether the form is complete. Special function keys lead you directly to the missing information.

Double-click on any "amount" item to itemize and summarize this information. These specially designed worksheets give you the power of a built-in calculator, and a full audit trail as well.

Exact form replicas print onto blank paper from both dot matrix and laser printers. No special font cartridges are required.

Introducing Disk-*kloze*, the political disclosure formware for your Mac or IBM compatible* that saves you hours, days, even weeks of valuable time.

Provides you with all the forms you need, right on your computer.

Available Formats:	
1992 FPPC	
- Candidate	249.00
- Recipient	249.00
- Ballot Measure	249.00
1992 FEC	249.00
Lobbyist	249.00
Professional Package (all above forms)	779.00

Disk-*kloze* displays exact replicas of FEC, State and Lobbyist reporting forms - right on your own computer screen. If you need supplemental schedules, Disk-*kloze* has them all. You have every form you need when you own Disk-*kloze*!

Calculates and Links Forms-Automatically!

With its form linking capability, Disk-*kloze* transfers data from your schedules to your summary sheet - automatically. If you update a schedule, Disk-*kloze* recalculates the data - throughout the form package. Never again worry about remembering to make all those corrections to all the necessary forms.

For more information call: **1-(800) 367-5110** or write to: **SDR Technologies**, Inc.,19510 Ventura Blvd. Suite 205 Tarzana, California91356

FREE DEMO AVAILABLE

Disk-*kloze*™
Political Reporting Formware

Minimum PC System Requirements: IBM Compatible with Hard Drive, 2MB RAM; Microsoft Windows 3.0. Minimum Mac System Requirements: Mac Plus; 1 MB RAM.

Macintosh, IBM and Microsoft are registered trademarks.
Disk-kloze is a registered trademark of SDR Technologies, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APRIL 1992
VOLUME XXIII, NUMBER 4

California JOURNAL

The Capitol's best 173
Freshman Senator Pat Johnston and Assemblyman Phil Isenberg emerged as the state's highest-ranked lawmakers in California Journal's *second rating of state legislators.* By Richard Zeiger

Barbara Boxer 183
Diminutive, fiesty Barbara Boxer hopes women will catapult her into the U.S. Senate. By Susan Rasky

Mel Levine 187
Virtually unknown outside Los Angeles, Mel Levine has the cash to build name recognition in his bid for the U.S. Senate. By Laura Mecoy

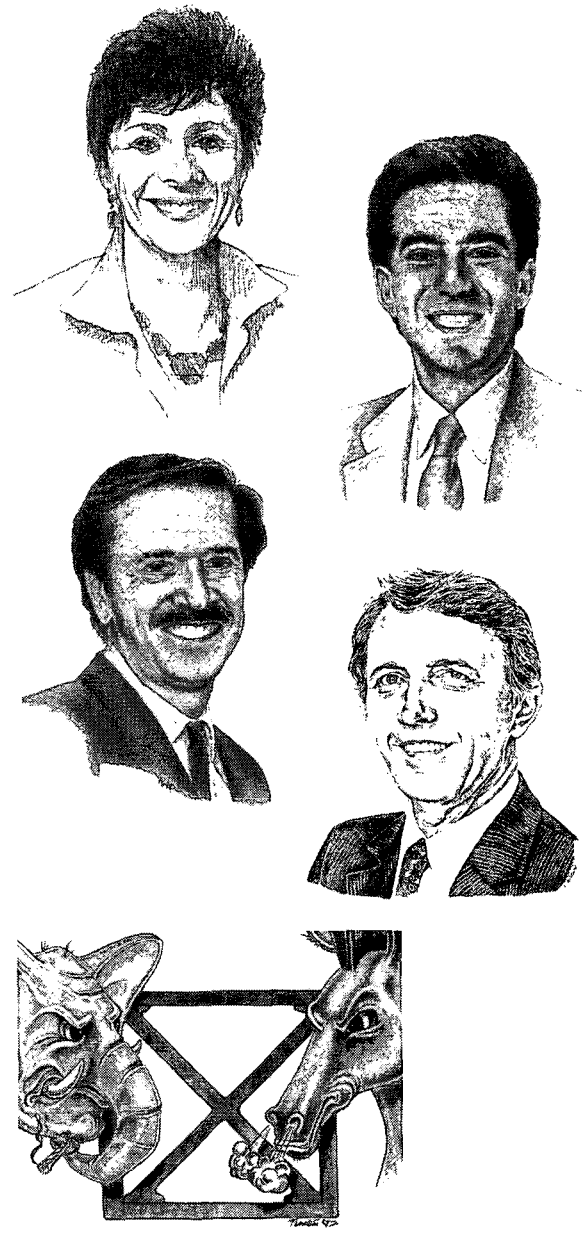
Leo McCarthy 191
Once more into the breach for the state's lieutenant governor as he tries for a second time to reach the U.S. Senate. By Steve Scott

Sonny Bono 195
Former music star, former husband and partner of Cher, Sonny Bono strives for credibility as he runs for the U.S. Senate. By Mark Henry

Party endorsements 199
Amid confusion over the law, political parties are backing away from pre-primary endorsements. By Charles Price

Carl Covitz 209
Head of the Business, Transportation and Housing Agency, Carl Covitz is a businessman-turned-public servant. By Caren Bohan

Up Front	170
Rostrum	171
Ballot Front	210
Soapbox	205
Washington Perspective	216



Cover illustration by Debra S. Hardesty

Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Associate Editor,** Danielle Starkey; **Circulation,** Susan Franklin; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Art Staff,** Patricia L. Tweten, Merijune Tokuno; **Staff,** Theresa Page, Cheryl Russell, Hope Tuttle; **Washington Correspondent,** Larry Liebert; **Interns,** David Hogberg, Maaria Khamis, Sheila Peterson.

Advertising Representative: Media Marketing (916) 452-3242

BPA CONSUMER MAGAZINE

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1992 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

DIGITIZED BY UNLV CDRC
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

Hyperbole, thy name is Willie Brown. The U.S. Supreme Court recently refused to review a constitutional challenge to Proposition 140, the term-limit initiative passed by voters in November 1990. Thus, the measure stands, and California's current crop of lawmakers must begin to contemplate life without legislative percs. The Assembly speaker, one of those making the constitutional challenge, reacted to the news in what has become typical Willie Brown fashion: He compared the Supreme Court to the Ku Klux Klan. "... the Supreme Court has now taken the same position as those who advocated poll taxes as a condition to vote," said the speaker. "Poll taxes were designed to limit choice. Term limits were designed to limit the choices at the polls. One wore a sheet and one didn't."

Willie Brown put on his lobbying cap last month to push for the hiring of outgoing UNLV basketball coach Jerry Tarkanian as the new head coach at San Diego State. Tarkanian, one of the most successful college basketball coaches in history, coached his last University of Nevada game in March and is leaving the Las Vegas school under a cloud. Allegations involving recruiting violations have dogged Tarkanian for years, culminating in a suspension that prevents UNLV from participating in this year's NCAA tournament. Nonetheless, said Brown's press office, the speaker admires Tarkanian for his work with inner-city youth. There is no word how much weight Brown carries with SDSU president Thomas Day, who must concur in the hiring of a new coach. Brown, of course, is on the California State University board of trustees.

State Senator Barry Keene has been known around the Capitol as an unsmiling tyrant, a man whose petty angers and petulances generated staff replacement rates in ranges suffered elsewhere by Marine Corps combat platoons. But a strain of mellowness may be setting in with Keene. He is among the Capitol celebrities appearing in the Sacramento Press Club's satirical review, "Capitol Punishments." In a skit featuring him and Senator Marian Bergeson, Keene plays an unfortunate politician who has been thrown out of work by Proposition 140 and who is applying to an unemployment counselor (Bergeson) for something to do. Among other things, he suggests to her that he might make a good personnel manager, being that he has employed so many people over the years.

"Talk to any three people in the Capitol," he says, "and two of them used to work for me." He also declares: "If I were to have an employee reunion, we'd have to rent the Coliseum."

Nor were these lines drafted by some smart-alecky reporter and foisted on Keene for the sake of the show. All the words originated with him. Maybe it's his relatively recent marriage and his new-born son.

The show, by the way, was scheduled for April 1st at the Crest Theater in Sacramento, with proceeds supporting the Press Club's scholarship program.

It used to be bumper stickers. Then, potholders. Now comes again the political fortune cookie. The state Democratic Party recently sent around an envelope filled with Asian snacks filled with pithy remarks about Republicans. For example, "A balanced budget doesn't tilt to the right." And, "What are 10 Republicans standing in a row? A wind tunnel." And, "Pete Wilson will even tax our patience in '92." And, our favorite catchy tune, "George Bush will get sick on November 3rd." Yeah, the cookies were stale, too.

S. I. Hayakawa was one of California's more unconventional politicians and, for a time, one of its most recognized thanks to his trademark tam-o'-shanter headgear. A world-renowned semanticist, Hayakawa rocketed into national prominence during the late 1960s when, as president of San Francisco State University, the diminutive Hayakawa climbed atop a car to quell a student demonstration, later silencing student leaders by yanking out their speaker wires. Hayakawa, who died at 87 at the end of February, parlayed that notoriety into a run for the U.S. Senate. A Republican, he was elected in 1976 by a narrow margin over then-incumbent Democrat John Tunney. Canadian-born of Japanese ancestry, Hayakawa infuriated scores of special-interest groups during his single Senate term, most notably Japanese-Americans with his opposition to monetary redress to those held in internment camps during World War II; Mexican-Americans by attacking bilingual education and sponsoring a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States; and students, by urging that Congress remove their eligibility for food stamps. He also offended conservatives by regularly opposing anti-abortion amendments and by voting for foreign aid. His Senate career ended after one term in 1982 when he was coaxed into retirement by other Republicans who urged him not to seek re-election. The winner of the election to succeed him was now-Governor Pete Wilson, who defeated former Governor Jerry Brown.

"Long experience has taught us that it is dangerous in the interest of truth to suppress opinions and ideas; it has further taught us that it is foolish to imagine that we can do so."

— Jawaharal Nehru

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

Green Party

Your article on the Green Party (see *CJ*, February 1992) doesn't provide enough information to make an informed judgment. For instance, the Greens opposed unification of Germany because they did not want capitalism "tainting" the East. They opposed actions against Iraq and have yet to condemn Saddam Hussein for setting fire to Kuwaiti oil fields. Yet the Greens were quick to jump on Exxon for an accidental oil spill in Alaska. European Greens also blame the Persian Gulf War on Israel, rather than on Iraq. German Greens refused to support sending Patriot missles to Israel during the Gulf War, claiming Israel's "occupation policy" is similar to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

Organizationally, the Green Party has been high-handed, ignoring grass-roots participants who did the dog work but are going to be left behind in the dust. Green leadership has been accused of hypocracy, secrecy and parliamentary tricks to drown out other voices. Contrary to their public relations, this is not going to be a grass-roots operation, despite all the window dressing of Committees of Correspondence and "town hall" confabs where Greens often piggyback onto environmental meetings to recruit community activists. Well-intended people genuinely concerned with environmental issues often are attracted to such meetings. They want to work within the system, for the most part, not scrap it or adopt the radical changes Green leadership has percolating on the back burner. It is the responsibility of those who write about the Greens to do a thorough job. This article was not it.

MIRIAM JAFFE
Thousand Oaks

California Journal *welcomes your comments and opinions on articles that appear in the* Journal. *Please address all correspondence to Editor,* California Journal, *1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.* Journal *editors reserve the right to edit for space.*

Advertisement

STATE NET®
Legislative & Regulatory Reporting

California's FIRST online legislative service is now the

FASTEST!

Our new, high-speed computer means:

- instant access when YOU need it most — at the busiest times;
- ALL reports are fast running— no matter how many bills tracked.

Tired of having to plan your work day around your online legislative service?

Go with the Leader!

Call today for a free demonstration or more information about the full range of State Net® services.

916/444-0840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

Election 1992!
Capitol Focus Training Conference
August 23-26, 1992

Objective: *To prepare participants to organize a non-partisan conference for their schools and communities about the issues and candidates on November's ballot.*

Topics:	Presenters:
Race for the Presidency	Candidates and their Representatives
United States Senate and Congress	Political Consultants
California Senate and Assembly	Campaign Strategists
Statewide Initiatives and Bond Measures	Party Officials
Local Elections	Lobbyists
Campaign Strategies and Key Issues	Journalists
Political Parties	Academics
Role of the Media	Capitol Focus Staff

Informed Choice Requires Action!
Enroll your Community Now.

Application Requirements: Participating teams should consist of one teacher or school administrator, one high school student and one other adult representing local or state government, business or another cooperating institution. Participants must agree to conduct at least one election-related conference for their community's schools serving 100-1000 persons.

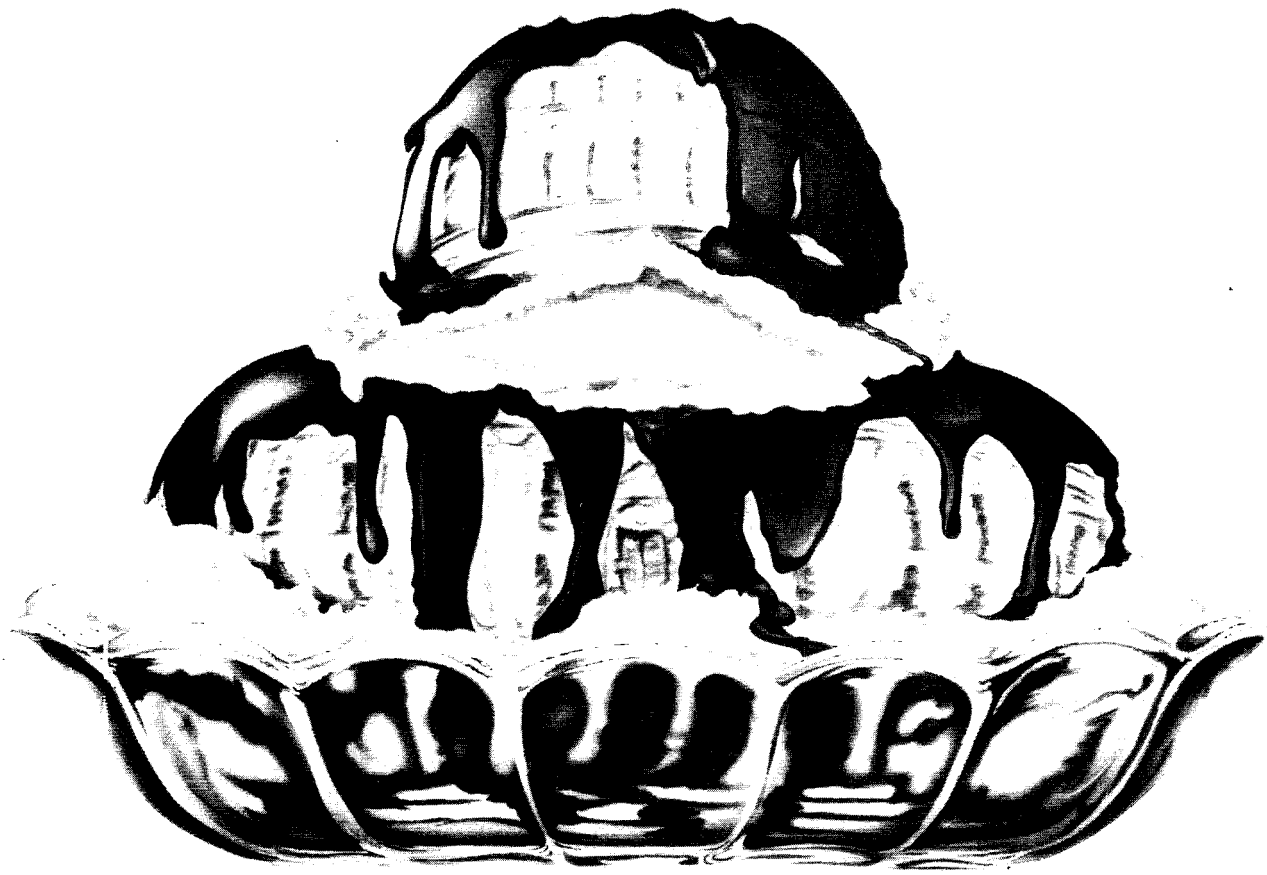
Reservations by phone or mail are due by May 15, 1992. Fee for a three person contingent is $1,000 which does not include transportation to Sacramento. A $500 deposit is due by June 15, 1992. Capitol Focus will provide fundraising ideas and assistance, and a limited number of partial scholarships. For reservations or more information, please call:

James C. Muldavin, Director
Capitol Focus Project
1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, California 95814
916 443-2229

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Capitol's best

Rating the legislators



By Richard Zeiger

How do you know who is a good legislator?

That's the question that started *California Journal's* first survey of California legislators two years ago. We confessed difficulty answering the question then, and the answer is no less elusive now.

Guideposts for a confused and ill-informed electorate are few. Residents from rural areas must read local newspapers without the resources to have someone on the spot in Sacramento. And those from large cities discover their own press too preoccupied with major events in the Capitol to focus on individual lawmakers.

Tools for evaluating legislators are few, and that fact was one of the major motivations behind our decision to conduct the surveys. For all its drawbacks, which we recount below, we remain convinced that the survey is a useful guide for voters and political insiders alike, one they can combine with other information to reach judgments about their elected officials.

Still, readers should approach the survey with caution for a number of reasons.

First, it's not clear just what qualities make a good legislator. They are required to perform an extremely complex array of tasks, from dealing with a constituent frustrated with the state's bureaucracy to analyzing the complex economics of a tax increase. That some should be better at some of these roles than others should not be surprising.

Second, those who participated in the survey see only

Intern Macria Khamis did all the really hard work on this survey. Richard Zeiger is editor of the California Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one part of the lawmaker's activities: the part he or she performs while in the state Capitol. For the most part, they are ignorant of the activities that take place in the legislator's district.

Third, those who work around the Capitol have their own way to judge what's important, and that may or may not correspond to what voters want and need. For example, the Capitol community has a prejudice in favor of taking action. Those legislators who introduce bills and get them passed are valued more highly than those who oppose. But it may be argued, as do some conservative Republicans, that the public benefits best when government fails to act; they believe at times no action at all is better than passing new laws.

Finally, there is only one real test that a legislator must pass, and that is the test that is given on election day. Each of those rated here have passed that test at least once.

Readers should remember that this is a survey; it is not a public-opinion poll. Only a select group of people were asked to respond. That group included the Sacramento press

Integrity — Senate

1.	HART	7.69
2.	JOHNSTON	7.59
3.	BERGESON	7.51
4.	VUICH	7.28
5.	PETRIS	7.27
6.	KILLEA	7.17
7.	LEONARD	7.00
8.	RUSSELL	7.00
9.	MORGAN	6.97
10.	PRESLEY	6.89
11.	DAVIS	6.78
12.	MADDY	6.75
13.	KOPP	6.52
14.	THOMPSON	6.30
15.	ALQUIST	6.29
16.	ROGERS	6.28
17.	CRAVEN	6.26
18.	BEVERLY	6.17
19.	ROSENTHAL	6.13
20.	GREENE, L.	5.93
21.	McCORQUODALE	5.82
22.	ROYCE	5.66
23.	ROBERTI	5.63
24.	LESLIE	5.52
25.	DEDDEH	5.27
26.	DILLS	5.22
27.	AYALA	5.11
28.	KEENE	5.07
29.	CALDERON	4.56
30.	TORRES	4.55
31.	MARKS	4.52
32.	GREEN, C.	4.47
33.	LOCKYER	4.45
34.	WATSON	4.28
35.	LEWIS	4.01
36.	HILL	4.01
37.	MELLO	3.86
38.	BOATWRIGHT	3.62
39.	GREENE, B.	3.30

Integrity —Assembly

1.	CONNELLY	8.21
2.	JONES	7.42
3.	CAMPBELL	7.41
4.	FRIEDMAN, T.	7.30
5.	O'CONNELL	7.26
6.	ALPERT	7.21
7.	HANNIGAN	7.16
8.	COLLINS	7.16
9.	ISENBERG	7.15
10.	SHER	7.10
11.	UMBERG	7.05
12.	EASTIN	7.03
13.	BATES	6.87
14.	FRAZEE	6.86
15.	VASCONCELLOS	6.85
16.	LEMPERT	6.83
17.	SEASTRAND	6.80
18.	LANCASTER	6.78
19.	BECERRA	6.77
20.	BAKER	6.75
21.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	6.75
22.	McCLINTOCK	6.74
23.	MARGOLIN	6.66
24.	TANNER	6.65
25.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.63
26.	FILANTE	6.56
27.	CHANDLER	6.55
28.	ANDAL	6.52
29.	SPEIER	6.52
30.	HARVEY	6.39
31.	FARR	6.36
32.	BENTLEY	6.31
33.	KELLEY	6.30
34.	BRONZAN	6.20
35.	LEE	6.19
36.	BOLAND	6.14
37.	HANSEN	6.08
38.	FRIEDMAN, B.	6.07
39.	MAYS	6.05
40.	FRIZZELLE	5.89
41.	CANNELLA	5.78
42.	WYMAN	5.72
43.	WOODRUFF	5.65
44.	ALLEN	5.64
45.	BRULTE	5.59
46.	HAUSER	5.55
47.	STATHAM	5.54
48.	FERGUSON	5.54
49.	CONROY	5.52
50.	TUCKER	5.42
51.	JOHNSON	5.41
52.	CLUTE	5.41
53.	EPPLE	5.28
54.	QUACKENBUSH	5.28
55.	HUGHES	5.25
56.	MOUNTJOY	5.23
57.	GOTCH	5.23
58.	POLANCO	5.19
59.	HAYDEN	5.18
60.	HUNTER	5.12
61.	KATZ	5.07
62.	BURTON	5.04
63.	EAVES	4.89
64.	KNOWLES	4.82
65.	CHACON	4.71
66.	WRIGHT	4.68
67.	HORCHER	4.67
68.	FELANDO	4.53
69.	KLEHS	4.52
70.	PEACE	4.47
71.	CORTESE	4.43
72.	AREIAS	4.41
73.	MOORE	4.33
74.	COSTA	4.09
75.	ELDER	3.99
76.	FLOYD	3.89
77.	NOLAN	3.84
78.	BANE	3.55
79.	BROWN, W.	3.54
80.	MURRAY	3.31

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contingent that covers the Capitol, lobbyists, legislative staff and the legislators themselves. The survey itself is long and complicated and requires substantial commitment to complete. Only 14 percent of the 1472 people asked to participate bothered to submit the survey, the same percentage as participated two years ago. We have no way of knowing if this self-selecting group is representative of the group as a whole, and if it's not, in what way it's biased. Interestingly enough, it was the legislators themselves who took the survey most seriously, nearly a third of them responded to the survey. The number of respondents may have been reduced somewhat by the unusual security measures that we had to take on the survey this year. Each survey was marked with a random number to assure it could not be counterfeited, a problem we encountered last year with a survey about lobbyists. Some respondents resented that, believing, incorrectly, that we were using the numbers to keep track of individual responses.

Two years ago, the survey was accused of having an anti-Republican bias because the legislative staff and the Legisla-

Intellegence — Senate

1.	KOPP	8.30
2.	HART	7.91
3.	ROBERTI	7.90
4.	MADDY	7.86
5.	JOHNSTON	7.82
6.	KEENE	7.43
7.	PETRIS	7.31
8.	BERGESON	7.31
9.	LOCKYER	7.10
10.	MORGAN	7.02
11.	PRESLEY	6.96
12.	LEONARD	6.85
13.	HILL	6.82
14.	BOATWRIGHT	6.74
15.	BEVERLY	6.53
16.	THOMPSON	6.52
17.	TORRES	6.51
18.	ALQUIST	6.31
19.	KILLEA	6.24
20.	GREENE, L.	6.14
21.	DAVIS	6.01
22.	RUSSELL	5.97
23.	DILLS	5.80
24.	ROYCE	5.72
25.	CRAVEN	5.67
26.	CALDERON	5.66
27.	McCORQUODALE	5.61
28.	ROSENTHAL	5.51
29.	DEDDEH	5.42
30.	LEWIS	5.15
31.	MELLO	5.06
32.	WATSON	4.84
33.	VUICH	4.61
34.	ROGERS	4.59
35.	LESLIE	4.41
36.	MARKS	4.29
37.	AYALA	4.04
38.	GREEN, C.	3.48
39.	GREENE, B.	3.25

Intellegence —Assembly

1.	BROWN, W.	9.21
2.	BAKER	8.78
3.	ISENBERG	8.78
4.	CONNELLY	8.34
5.	SHER	7.93
6.	FRIEDMAN, T.	7.79
7.	VASCONCELLOS	7.70
8.	MARGOLIN	7.66
9.	HANNIGAN	7.59
10.	BRONZAN	7.45
11.	EASTIN	7.40
12.	COLLINS	7.33
13.	McCLINTOCK	7.29
14.	O'CONNELL	7.24
15.	PEACE	7.21
16.	KATZ	7.19
17.	FILANTE	7.14
18.	JONES	7.12
19.	SPEIER	7.08
20.	NOLAN	7.01
21.	LEMPERT	7.00
22.	BURTON	6.95
23.	CAMPBELL	6.90
24.	UMBERG	6.81
25.	HAYDEN	6.77
26.	JOHNSON	6.60
27.	BRULTE	6.40
28.	BECERRA	6.37
29.	COSTA	6.31
30.	FARR	6.27
31.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.25
32.	HANSEN	6.20
33.	MAYS	6.12
34.	BATES	6.10
35.	CHANDLER	6.07
36.	ANDAL	6.00
37.	WOODRUFF	5.94
38.	KLEHS	5.89
39.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	5.78
40.	ALPERT	5.77
41.	TANNER	5.71
42.	HAUSER	5.69
43.	FLOYD	5.68
44.	FELANDO	5.67
45.	LANCASTER	5.66
46.	STATHAM	5.61
47.	FRIEDMAN, B.	5.61
48.	FRAZEE	5.60
49.	HARVEY	5.56
50.	GOTCH	5.56
51.	BANE	5.51
52.	BENTLEY	5.49
53.	LEE	5.44
54.	AREIAS	5.37
55.	POLANCO	5.33
56.	QUACKENBUSH	5.22
57.	ELDER	5.19
58.	KELLEY	5.19
59.	HORCHER	5.13
60.	MOORE	5.11
61.	CANNELLA	5.03
62.	TUCKER	4.98
63.	WYMAN	4.94
64.	EAVES	4.92
65.	EPPLE	4.91
66.	SEASTRAND	4.89
67.	HUNTER	4.84
68.	MOUNTJOY	4.78
69.	FRIZZELLE	4.65
70.	CORTESE	4.62
71.	HUGHES	4.51
72.	KNOWLES	4.37
73.	WRIGHT	4.35
74.	CONROY	4.18
75.	ALLEN	4.07
76.	FERGUSON	3.96
77.	BOLAND	3.91
78.	CLUTE	3.50
79.	CHACON	3.39
80.	MURRAY	2.98

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture itself was overwhelmingly Democratic. Indeed, then-Assembly minority leader Ross Johnson urged his caucus not to participate. For several reasons we felt that criticism was wrong. For one thing, although Republicans in the Assembly fared poorly, Republicans in the Senate did quite well. That general conclusion was repeated this year. For another, when the responses of the four groups surveyed are separated, in general each group ranked legislators similarly. The results from legislative staff were quite similar to those from lobbyists, who would not have a particular bias toward Democrats. We can see no reason why respondents would have party prejudices against Assembly Republicans, but not against Senate Republicans. Rather, we believe respondents just felt Assembly Republicans, by and large, were of lesser quality than Senate Republicans (see *CJ*, October 1991.)

Furthermore, it should be expected that Republicans would do less well on such a survey. They are the minority party in both houses. Where there are opportunities to succeed, it should not be surprising that those are monopolized by the majority Democrats. Should Republicans take

Effectiveness — Senate

1.	ROBERTI	7.80
2.	MADDY	7.71
3.	PRESLEY	7.46
4.	BERGESON	6.99
5.	JOHNSTON	6.97
6.	HART	6.81
7.	KOPP	6.55
8.	ALQUIST	6.50
9.	KEENE	6.44
10.	MORGAN	6.42
11.	LOCKYER	6.26
12.	PETRIS	6.13
13.	HILL	5.90
14.	BOATWRIGHT	5.89
15.	LEONARD	5.89
16.	BEVERLY	5.84
17.	DILLS	5.68
18.	TORRES	5.68
19.	THOMPSON	5.50
20.	DAVIS	5.43
21.	McCORQUODALE	5.39
22.	MELLO	5.33
23.	GREENE, L.	5.29
24.	KILLEA	5.25
25.	ROSENTHAL	5.13
26.	CRAVEN	5.05
27.	RUSSELL	4.95
28.	DEDDEH	4.93
29.	CALDERON	4.80
30.	WATSON	4.74
31.	ROYCE	4.40
32.	AYALA	4.30
33.	VUICH	4.16
34.	ROGERS	4.08
35.	LESLIE	3.99
36.	MARKS	3.72
37.	LEWIS	3.43
38.	GREEN, C.	3.41
39.	GREENE, B.	2.51

Effectiveness —Assembly

1.	BROWN, W.	8.31
2.	ISENBERG	7.76
3.	HANNIGAN	7.20
4.	BAKER	7.14
5.	O'CONNELL	7.03
6.	BRONZAN	6.89
7.	VASCONCELLOS	6.86
8.	CONNELLY	6.80
9.	KATZ	6.76
10.	EASTIN	6.59
11.	JONES	6.57
12.	SPEIER	6.50
13.	SHER	6.43
14.	COSTA	6.23
15.	FRIEDMAN, T.	6.22
16.	COLLINS	6.14
17.	MARGOLIN	6.13
18.	HANSEN	6.04
19.	CAMPBELL	5.99
20.	BANE	5.94
21.	TANNER	5.76
22.	LEMPERT	5.75
23.	FILANTE	5.71
24.	FARR	5.62
25.	NOLAN	5.56
26.	BURTON	5.54
27.	AREIAS	5.48
28.	KLEHS	5.46
29.	UMBERG	5.46
30.	POLANCO	5.42
31.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	5.40
32.	BENTLEY	5.22
33.	FLOYD	5.22
34.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	5.16
35.	WOODRUFF	5.15
36.	MOORE	5.09
37.	HAUSER	5.09
38.	PEACE	5.08
39.	JOHNSON	4.99
40.	BRULTE	4.99
41.	STATHAM	4.96
42.	HARVEY	4.96
43.	MAYS	4.81
44.	BATES	4.81
45.	QUACKENBUSH	4.79
46.	BECERRA	4.79
47.	FRAZEE	4.71
48.	LANCASTER	4.70
49.	LEE	4.67
50.	WRIGHT	4.64
51.	KELLEY	4.54
52.	FELANDO	4.49
53.	TUCKER	4.49
54.	CHANDLER	4.49
55.	ELDER	4.44
56.	CORTESE	4.43
57.	EAVES	4.42
58.	CANNELLA	4.40
59.	GOTCH	4.31
60.	ALPERT	4.31
61.	HUNTER	4.31
62.	HUGHES	4.28
63.	ANDAL	4.21
64.	EPPLE	4.12
65.	FRIEDMAN, B.	4.02
66.	SEASTRAND	4.02
67.	ALLEN	3.91
68.	MOUNTJOY	3.84
69.	FRIZZELLE	3.77
70.	CLUTE	3.77
71.	HORCHER	3.77
72.	McCLINTOCK	3.75
73.	WYMAN	3.64
74.	CONROY	3.62
75.	BOLAND	3.56
76.	CHACON	3.43
77.	HAYDEN	3.28
78.	KNOWLES	2.98
79.	FERGUSON	2.93
80.	MURRAY	2.78

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charge, we expect things would change. Still, we noticed that even critics did not hesitate to use the survey results, if they happened to be useful come election time.

The survey, because it comes up with a numerical ranking, gives a false sense of precision. Rankings in many cases were determined by hundredths of percentage points. There really isn't much difference between individuals who score so closely. One can legitimately argue over whether legislator number three is really better than number four.

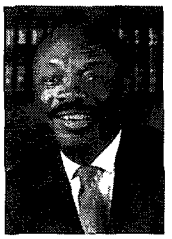
However, as with the results two years, ago, the editors remain convinced that the results pass the "common sense" test. Those in the top 10 percent really are better at what they do — at least by the standards of Sacramento — than those in the bottom 10 percent. The rankings are a roughly accurate representation of the ability of lawmakers to perform in the legislative arena.

For this year's survey, some changes were made in the categories. We dropped the "conviviality" category. Quite a few people never understood that one, either what the word meant (good company, sociable) or what difference it made.

Energy — Senate

1.	KOPP	7.49
2.	HART	7.28
3.	JOHNSTON	7.24
4.	BERGESON	7.15
5.	THOMPSON	6.96
6.	MORGAN	6.89
7.	ROBERTI	6.85
8.	PRESLEY	6.82
9.	MADDY	6.81
10.	LEONARD	6.68
11.	HILL	6.49
12.	LOCKYER	6.40
13.	KEENE	6.27
14.	KILLEA	6.13
15.	TORRES	6.10
16.	PETRIS	5.97
17.	BOATWRIGHT	5.91
18.	McCORQUODALE	5.67
19.	RUSSELL	5.66
20.	WATSON	5.46
21.	CALDERON	5.39
22.	LESLIE	5.31
23.	ROSENTHAL	5.22
24.	ROGERS	5.20
25.	DAVIS	5.18
26.	BEVERLY	5.12
27.	GREENE, L.	5.09
28.	ROYCE	5.09
29.	DEDDEH	4.73
30.	ALQUIST	4.57
31.	MELLO	4.55
32.	DILLS	4.53
33.	LEWIS	4.01
34.	AYALA	3.95
35.	CRAVEN	3.87
36.	GREEN, C.	3.58
37.	VUICH	3.50
38.	MARKS	3.35
39.	GREENE, B.	2.37

Energy —Assembly



1.	BROWN,W.	8.42
2.	CONNELLY	8.02
3.	BAKER	7.82
4.	ISENBERG	7.81
5.	EASTIN	7.71
6.	COLLINS	7.51
7.	McCLINTOCK	7.44
8.	FRIEDMAN, T.	7.35
9.	VASCONCELLOS	7.35
10.	SPEIER	7.31
11.	O'CONNELL	7.27
12.	KATZ	7.22
13.	HANSEN	7.21
14.	BRONZAN	7.18
15.	PEACE	7.04
16.	JONES	6.96
17.	CAMPBELL	6.90
18.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.89
19.	LEMPERT	6.88
20.	MARGOLIN	6.73
21.	HANNIGAN	6.69
22.	FILANTE	6.50
23.	UMBERG	6.44
24.	NOLAN	6.41
25.	SHER	6.26
26.	POLANCO	6.26
27.	BENTLEY	6.17
28.	MAYS	6.15
29.	ANDAL	6.15
30.	FLOYD	6.14
31.	WOODRUFF	6.11
32.	ALPERT	6.09
33.	LEE	6.03
34.	BECERRA	6.03
35.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	6.00
36.	KLEHS	5.99
37.	COSTA	5.99
38.	KNOWLES	5.90
39.	AREIAS	5.88
40.	FARR	5.87
41.	BRULTE	5.82
42.	HARVEY	5.80
43.	WRIGHT	5.73
44.	FRIEDMAN, B.	5.71
45.	BATES	5.64
46.	JOHNSON	5.62
47.	STATHAM	5.62
48.	GOTCH	5.61
49.	BURTON	5.60
50.	TANNER	5.53
51.	WYMAN	5.52
52.	HUNTER	5.42
53.	SEASTRAND	5.41
54.	CHANDLER	5,40
55.	HAUSER	5.40
56.	CONROY	5.32
57.	QUACKENBUSH	5.30
58.	CANNELLA	5.30
59.	MOORE	5.24
60.	HAYDEN	5.07
61.	ALLEN	4.98
62.	TUCKER	4.91
63.	FERGUSON	4.89
64.	ELDER	4.87
65.	BOLAND	4.83
66.	FRAZEE	4.83
67.	FELANDO	4.78
68.	HUGHES	4.70
69.	MOUNTJOY	4.66
70.	FRIZZELLE	4.63
71.	HORCHER	4.62
72.	KELLEY	4.54
73.	EPPLE	4.53
74.	EAVES	4.44
75.	CLUTE	4.34
76.	LANCASTER	4.30
77.	CORTESE	4.26
78.	CHACON	3.75
79.	BANE	3.42
80.	MURRAY	2.99

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

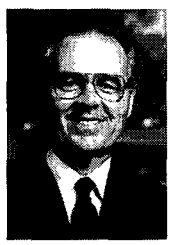
We also changed the "flexibility" category to "problem solving." We felt this distinction more closely reflected what we were trying to measure. Furthermore, it made it clearly a positive value, one that could be included in the overall ranking. Flexibility can be either a positive or negative value, depending on the issue and one's point of view.

As a result, this year's overall ranking consists of adding the scores for intelligence, integrity, energy, effectiveness and problem-solving ability, then dividing the result by five. That system gives each of the categories equal weight. Different weightings would give different results. There are those, for example, who argue that only effectiveness — the ability to exercise your own will — matters. By that standard, not surprisingly, the best legislators would have been the leaders of each house, Willie Brown and David Roberti. Left out of the overall rating was the "potential" category, the one that measures the likelihood of future political success. We felt that just having the ability to advance politically does not necessarily make one a better legislator. And the contrary is also true. Few think Willie Brown could run successfully for

Problem-solving — Senate

1.	MADDY	7.59
2.	PRESLEY	7.27
3.	JOHNSTON	7.21
4.	BERGESON	7.14
5.	HART	7.05
6.	ROBERTI	6.93
7.	KOPP	6.49
8.	MORGAN	6.37
9.	KEENE	6.13
10.	HILL	5.99
11.	PETRIS	5.89
12.	LOCKYER	5.77
13.	THOMPSON	5.62
14.	ALQUIST	5.58
15.	LEONARD	5.54
16.	BEVERLY	5.45
17.	KILLEA	5.40
18.	BOATWRIGHT	5.38
19.	TORRES	5.28
20.	DAVIS	5.26
21.	McCORQUODALE	5.25
22.	CRAVEN	4.97
23.	GREENE, L.	4.97
24.	RUSSELL	4.93
25.	DILLS	4.83
26.	ROSENTHAL	4.82
27.	CALDERON	4.82
28.	MELLO	4.74
29.	DEDDEH	4.65
30.	WATSON	4.45
31.	ROYCE	4.34
32.	AYALA	4.08
33.	VUICH	4.08
34.	ROGERS	3.92
35.	LESLIE	3.89
36.	MARKS	3.42
37.	GREEN, C.	3.31
38.	LEWIS	3.25
39.	GREENE, B.	2.34

Problem-solving —Assembly



1.	ISENBERG	7.70
2.	BROWN, W.	6.94
3.	HANNIGAN	6.93
4.	BAKER	6.91
5.	O'CONNELL	6.80
6.	CONNELLY	6.75
7.	BRONZAN	6.69
8.	JONES	6.57
9.	VASCONCELLOS	6.54
10.	EASTIN	6.39
11.	SHER	6.28
12.	KATZ	6.19
13.	FRIEDMAN, T.	6.17
14.	COLLINS	6.06
15.	MARGOLIN	6.04
16.	CAMPBELL	6.00
17.	SPEIER	5.96
18.	COSTA	5.93
19.	LEMPERT	5.83
20.	HANSEN	5.79
21.	FILANTE	5.60
22.	UMBERG	5.56
23.	TANNER	5.53
24.	FARR	5.40
25.	BENTLEY	5.34
26.	KLEHS	5.21
27.	NOLAN	5.19
28.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	5.18
29.	POLANCO	5.16
30.	PEACE	5.14
31.	AREIAS	5.05
32.	WOODRUFF	5.04
33.	HAUSER	5.01
34.	BRULTE	4.96
35.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	4.90
36.	MAYS	4.85
37.	BURTON	4.85
38.	FRAZEE	4.83
39.	LANCASTER	4.83
40.	HARVEY	4.78
41.	BECERRA	4.78
42.	LEE	4.77
43.	BATES	4.72
44.	CHANDLER	4.69
45.	MOORE	4.66
46.	STATHAM	4.62
47.	QUACKENBUSH	4.59
48.	ALPERT	4.55
49.	CANNELLA	4.52
50.	KELLEY	4.50
51.	JOHNSON	4.45
52.	GOTCH	4.43
53.	EAVES	4.38
54.	HUNTER	4.36
55.	ELDER	4.35
56.	ANDAL	4.33
57.	CORTESE	4.32
58.	FLOYD	4.32
59.	TUCKER	4.31
60.	WRIGHT	4.23
61.	BANE	4.20
62.	HUGHES	4.11
63.	FELANDO	4.09
64.	EPPLE	4.06
65.	SEASTRAND	4.04
66.	FRIEDMAN, B.	4.01
67.	HORCHER	3.97
68.	CONROY	3.78
69.	FRIZZELLE	3.74
70.	ALLEN	3.74
71.	MOUNTJOY	3.69
72.	CLUTE	3.67
73.	BOLAND	3.64
74.	McCLINTOCK	3.64
75.	HAYDEN	3.60
76.	WYMAN	3.55
77.	CHACON	3.26
78.	KNOWLES	2.82
79.	MURRAY	2.77
80.	FERGUSON	2.77

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

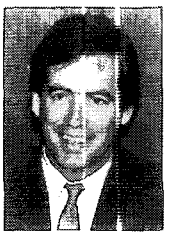
higher office but that doesn't diminish his abilities as a legislator.

But the inclusion of other categories gives a different result.

In the Assembly, Sacramento Democrat Phil Isenberg came out top ranked this year, edging out his Sacramento colleague, Lloyd Connelly. It was the inclusion of the problem-solving category that gave Isenberg the top spot. He has toiled for the past two years to reach compromises between Republicans and Democrats over the deteriorating state budget. Connelly, as in the first survey, was top-rated for integrity. The top-ranked Republican was Danville's Bill Baker, who moved up from a seventh position (also the highest Republican) two years ago.

Connelly was top-ranked in the integrity catetory, the spot he occupied two years ago as well. Earlier this year, he decided not to run for re-election when faced with the prospect of having to move southward toward Stockton, an area he said he did not know well and could not, in good conscience, represent. He is running for a Superior Court

Potential — Senate



1.	JOHNSTON	7.61
2.	HART	7.17
3.	MADDY	6.99
4.	BERGESON	6.90
5.	MORGAN	6.90
6.	KOPP	6.42
7.	LEONARD	6.24
8.	PRESLEY	6.07
9.	THOMPSON	6.06
10.	HILL	5.58
11.	ROBERTI	5.51
12.	KEENE	5.41
13.	LOCKYER	5.21
14.	TORRES	5.18
15.	CALDERON	5.06
16.	PETRIS	5.02
17.	KILLEA	4.87
18.	ROYCE	4.82
19.	RUSSELL	4.77
20.	BEVERLY	4.60
21.	WATSON	4.57
22.	BOATWRIGHT	4.53
23.	McCORQUODALE	4.49
24.	DEDEH	4.36
25.	LESLIE	4.32
26.	DAVIS	4.30
27.	ROGERS	4.14
28.	GREENE, L.	4.04
29.	ROSENTHAL	3.99
30.	MELLO	3.94
31.	ALQUIST	3.75
32.	LEWIS	3.67
33.	CRAVEN	3.55
34.	DILLS	3.31
35.	AYALA	3.21
36.	MARKS	2.69
37.	GREEN, C.	2.66
38.	VUICH	2.43
39.	GREENE, B.	1.86

Potential —Assembly

1.	ISENBERG	7.63
2.	BAKER	7.48
3.	CONNELLY	7.26
4.	COLLINS	7.26
5.	O'CONNELL	7.07
6.	EASTIN	6.88
7.	BRONZAN	6.81
8.	JONES	6.80
9.	KATZ	6.73
10.	SPEIER	6.66
11.	HANNIGAN	6.47
12.	FRIEDMAN, T.	6.34
13.	UMBERG	6.33
14.	MARGOLIN	6.21
15.	LEMPERT	6.16
16.	BECERRA	6.11
17.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.11
18.	HANSEN	6.01
19.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	5.86
20.	MAYS	5.78
21.	BRULTE	5.76
22.	SHER	5.71
23.	CAMPBELL	5.69
24.	BENTLEY	5.60
25.	COSTA	5.56
26.	FILANTE	5.54
27.	QUACKENBUSH	5.46
28.	LEE	5.44
29.	WOODRUFF	5.41
30.	AREIAS	5.41
31.	POLANCO	5.39
32.	FARR	5.22
33.	McCLINTOCK	5.13
34.	HARVEY	5.11
35.	PEACE	5.10
36.	ANDAL	5.10
37.	KLEHS	5.10
38.	BROWN, W.	5.10
39.	VASCONCELLOS	5.02
40.	STATHAM	5.01
41.	NOLAN	4.82
42.	HAUSER	4.78
43.	FRIEDMAN, B.	4.73
44.	JOHNSON	4.68
45.	KELLEY	4.60
46.	ALPERT	4.59
47.	GOTCH	4.56
48.	TUCKER	4.55
49.	TANNER	4.51
50.	BATES	4.48
51.	CANNELLA	4.46
52.	MOORE	4.34
53.	FRAZEE	4.32
54.	HUNTER	4.32
55.	SEASTRAND	4.27
56.	WRIGHT	4.25
57.	HORCHER	4.22
58.	BURTON	4.21
59.	WYMAN	4.15
60.	FLOYD	3.97
61.	LANCASTER	3.96
62.	EAVES	3.93
63.	EPPLE	3.88
64.	ELDER	3.83
65.	CHANDLER	3.80
66.	FELANDO	3.80
67.	CONROY	3.79
68.	MOUNTJOY	3.79
69.	HUGHES	3.73
70.	KNOWLES	3.67
71.	BOLAND	3.64
72.	CORTESE	3.64
73.	FRIZZELLE	3.60
74.	ALLEN	3.54
75.	CLUTE	3.38
76.	HAYDEN	3.27
77.	FERGUSON	3.13
78.	BANE	3.05
79.	CHACON	2.90
80.	MURRAY	2.66

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judgeship in Sacramento instead.

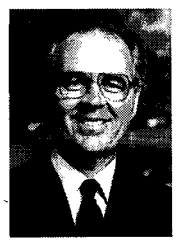
The results were more surprising in the Senate, where newcomer Pat Johnston, a Stockton Democrat, jumped to the top of the heap, nudging out Santa Barbara Democrat Gary Hart and Fresno Republican Ken Maddy by the slimmest of margins (two-hundredths of a percentage point). Although he moved to the Senate from the Assembly just a year-and-a-half ago, Johnston has taken the lead in a number of high-profile areas, particularly insurance reform, where his Assembly experience has been particularly helpful. Interestingly, Johnston was not ranked on top in any of the five categories used in the overall ranking, but in no case did he finish further down than fifth. In contrast, Maddy finished 12th in the integrity category and Hart finished sixth in effectiveness.

Republicans did better overall in this year's survey. Two years ago, Assembly Republicans occupied only two of the top 20 spots in the overall ranking. This year, they held down five of the top 20 spots. In the Senate, four of the top 10 were Republican, a number that corresponds to their representation in that body.

Overall — Senate

1.	JOHNSTON	7.36
2.	HART	7.35
3.	MADDY	7.34
4.	BERGESON	7.22
5.	PRESLEY	7.08
6.	KOPP	7.07
7.	ROBERTI	7.02
8.	MORGAN	6.73
9.	PETRIS	6.52
10.	LEONARD	6.39
11.	KEENE	6.27
12.	THOMPSON	6.18
13.	KILLEA	6.04
14.	LOCKYER	6.00
15.	ALQUIST	5.85
16.	HILL	5.84
17.	BEVERLY	5.82
18.	DAVIS	5.73
19.	RUSSELL	5.70
20.	TORRES	5.62
21.	McCORQUODALE	5.55
22.	BOATWRIGHT	5.51
23.	GREENE, L.	5.48
24.	ROSENTHAL	5.36
25.	DILLS	5.21
26.	CRAVEN	5.16
27.	CALDERON	5.04
28.	ROYCE	5.04
29.	DEDDEH	5.00
30.	ROGERS	4.81
31.	WATSON	4.75
32.	VUICH	4.72
33.	MELLO	4.71
34.	LESLIE	4.62
35.	AYALA	4.30
36.	LEWIS	3.97
37.	MARKS	3.86
38.	GREEN, C.	3.65
39.	GREENE, B.	2.75

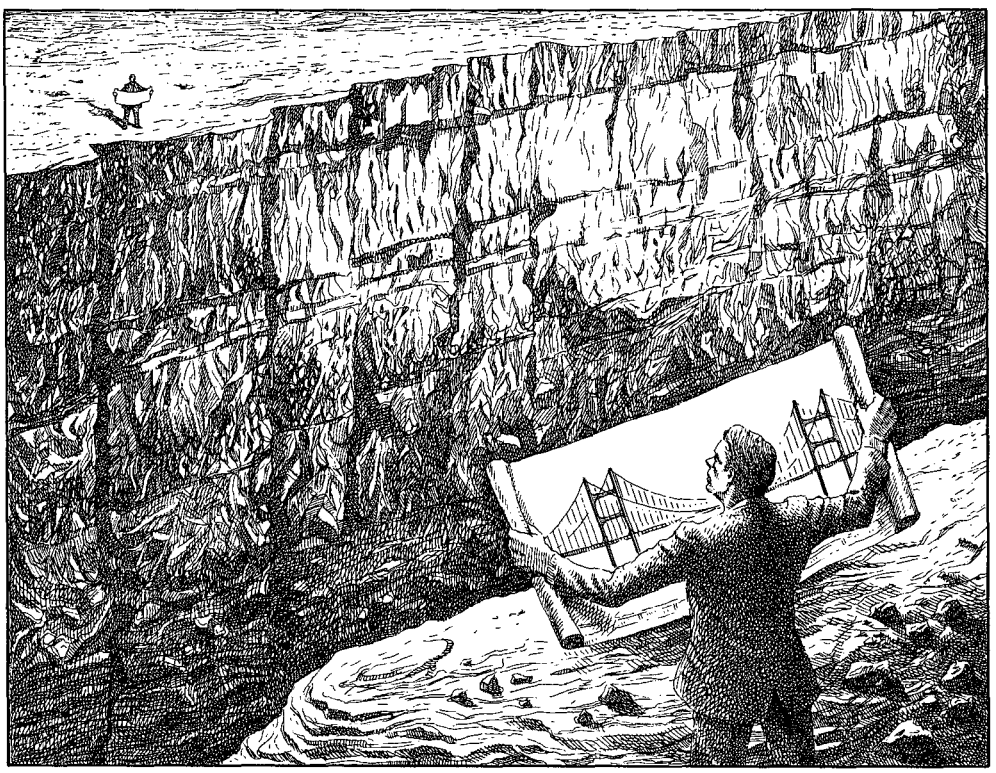
Overall —Assembly



1.	ISENBERG	7.84
2.	CONNELLY	7.62
3.	BAKER	7.48
4.	BROWN, W.	7.28
5.	O'CONNELL	7.12
6.	HANNIGAN	7.12
7.	VASCONCELLOS	7.06
8.	EASTIN	7.02
9.	FRIEDMAN, T.	6.97
10.	JONES	6.93
11.	BRONZAN	6.88
12.	COLLINS	6.84
13.	SHER	6.80
14.	SPEIER	6.67
15.	MARGOLIN	6.64
16.	CAMPBELL	6.64
17.	KATZ	6.48
18.	LEMPERT	6.46
19.	FILANTE	6.30
20.	HANSEN	6.26
21.	UMBERG	6.26
22.	ARCHIE-HUDSON	5.97
23.	FARR	5.90
24.	TANNER	5.83
25.	ROYBAL-ALLARD	5.82
26.	PEACE	5.79
27.	McCLINTOCK	5.77
28.	BECERRA	5.75
29.	COSTA	5.71
30.	BENTLEY	5.71
31.	BATES	5.63
32.	NOLAN	5.60
33.	BURTON	5.60
34.	MAYS	5.60
35.	ALPERT	5.58
36.	WOODRUFF	5.58
37.	BRULTE	5.56
38.	HARVEY	5.50
39.	POLANCO	5.47
40.	ANDAL	5.44
41.	CHANDLER	5.44
42.	LEE	5.42
43.	KLEHS	5.42
44.	JOHNSON	5.41
45.	FRAZEE	5.36
46.	HAUSER	5.35
47.	STATHAM	5.27
48.	LANCASTER	5.25
49.	AREIAS	5.24
50.	FRIEDMAN, B.	5.08
51.	FLOYD	5.05
52.	QUACKENBUSH	5.04
53.	SEASTRAND	5.03
54.	GOTCH	5.03
55.	KELLEY	5.01
56.	CANNELLA	5.00
57.	MOORE	4.89
58.	TUCKER	4.82
59.	HUNTER	4.81
60.	HAYDEN	4.78
61.	WRIGHT	4.73
62.	FELANDO	4.71
63.	WYMAN	4.67
64.	EAVES	4.61
65.	EPPLE	4.58
66.	HUGHES	4.57
67.	ELDER	4.57
68.	FRIZZELLE	4.54
69.	BANE	4.52
70.	CONROY	4.48
71.	ALLEN	4.47
72.	MOUNTJOY	4.44
73.	HORCHER	4.43
74.	BOLAND	4.42
75.	CORTESE	4.41
76.	KNOWLES	4.18
77.	CLUTE	4.14
78.	FERGUSON	4.02
79.	CHACON	3.71
80.	MURRAY	2.97

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We can go a long way toward solving the uninsured problem in California.



But we can't do it alone.

In California, there are as many as 6,000,000 uninsured.

Right now, their medical costs are being paid by others. Taxpayers. Medical providers. Insurance companies. And people who can afford health insurance, who pay more to subsidize those who cannot.

Some suggest the only solution is massive government intervention.

We believe that there are better ways to provide high quality care to more people.

The key is extending the private health insurance system to cover all working people and their dependents. This group accounts for fully 87% of the uninsured.

Blue Cross has developed several innovative solutions.

For example, through our *Small Group Access Program* we insure over 225,000 employees of small businesses and their dependents. Our *Fills the Gaps Program* includes coverage for part-time employees and people temporarily without health insurance coverage.

We also support state insurance reforms like AB 3657 to open up the marketplace. As well as public policy initiatives like the MRMIP program to cover people who cannot be reached by private insurance.

But Blue Cross can't do it alone.

It takes every insurance company in California to support and participate in similar programs.

Which will make insurance more accessible while helping control the rising cost of health care.

And that should solve a lot of problems. For everyone.

Blue Cross of California

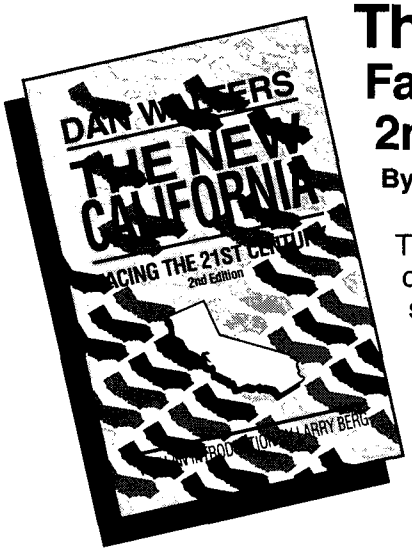
WE MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK FOR YOU.℠

® is a registered mark of th · Blue Cross Association. SM is a service mark of Blue Cross of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

BOOKS from California Journal



NEW!

The New California
Facing the 21st Century
2nd Edition

By Dan Walters with an introduction by Larry L. Berg

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known politcal correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. The first edition of this lively and insightful book became a basic reference on California after its publication in 1987. This 1992 edition is 186 pages long and contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data based on the 1990 Census. Price: $11.95.

Available Now

California Political Almanac. Every reader becomes a political insider with this candid analysis of California's political leaders written by Sacramento's most knowledgeable journalists. The new, 1991-92 *California Political Almanac* contains biographies, photographs, voting records and district descriptions for every member of the state Senate, Assembly and Congress, as well as for every constitutional office. The Almanac also includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and much more: over 500 pages of data and analysis. 1991, 6x9", 527 pages, $34.95, paper.

California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process, *by Richard Krolak.* California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. But the budget process is complicated and murky, often taking place behind closed doors. Now comes *California's Budget Dance,* a 128-page book that clearly outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process and understand what's going on. 1990, $5^1/_2$ x $8^1/_2$", 116 pages, $7.95, paper.

1992 Roster and Government Guide. Contains the name, photo, address, telephone number, district offices and staff for each member of the Senate, Assembly, Congress and the Executive Branch. Also included is a full-page legislative process chart. $8^1/_2$ x 11", 28 pages. Price: 100 or more copies, 52 cents each; 50-99 copies, 79 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.24 each; 1 or 2 copies, $2.25 each. Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.50 shipping & handling to all orders.

Campaigning in California. A practical guide to state and federal election finance laws by the law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, et. al. This easy-to-understand Q & A format is up to date as of January 1992. $8^1/_2$ x 11". Price; 1-2 copies, $2.75 each; 3-49 copies, $1.95 each; 50-99 copies, 99¢ each; 100 or more, 74¢ each.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the working of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9", 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

Sacramento Political Visitor's Guide. A 20-page, full-color guide for persons visiting the Capitol for the purpose of making their voices heard in the political process. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around, $8^1/_2$ x 11". $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 ore more, 49¢ each.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1991-92. Published every year, the Annual consists of reprints of California Journal articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. $8^1/_2$ x 11", 128 pages. $7.95 paper.

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment (VISA and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814, or call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art by Wendy Shaul

BARBARA BOXER

Will women catapult her into the U.S. Senate?

By Susan Rasky

Can a liberal Marin County congresswoman who's never run for statewide office and whose claim to fame is publicizing the Pentagon's expensive coffee pots and toilet seats win a race for the U.S. Senate?

Political demography and conventional wisdom said "no," even before her name turned up on the list of lawmakers who bounced checks at the House bank. But 1992 isn't exactly a garden-variety election year in California. Besides, nobody ever accused Barbara Boxer of dealing in conventional wisdom, let alone heeding it.

So, there she stands in the ballroom of the Anaheim Hilton, clad in Cory Aquino yellow, microphone in hand, urging Democrats in one of the state's most conservative enclaves to elect her to the six-year Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Alan Cranston.

"I think our issues will be embraced by Orange County if we are unapologetic about being Democrats, real Democrats," she tells them. "I ask you to let me be your messenger."

The Boxer message is a mixture of liberal social policy and old-fashioned, anti-Washington populism — with a feminist twist. Delivered in a slightly husky voice that betrays her Brooklyn origins, it's about more money for schools and for children's programs, about abortion rights and universal health insurance — and mostly about the men in the Senate, especially those on the Judiciary Committee, who never asked Clarence Thomas the tough confirmation hearing questions she would have put to him.

"Can you *believe* those 14 men never confronted him about his answer on *Roe v. Wade*? It's not a matter of whether they come from the North or the South, or whether they are liberal or conservative," she tells her audience, leaning over the podium and pausing a few seconds for effect. "It's about whether they are dead or alive."

In a year when incumbents of all political stripes are frantically maneuvering to portray themselves as outsiders, Boxer, a five-term veteran who holds a seat on the Armed Services Committee and chairs a Government Operations subcommittee, is having it both ways. Making her pitch directly to female voters, she has styled herself as the outside insider, the consummate Everywoman taking on brass at the Pentagon, bureaucrats at the EPA or the male-dominated Congress much as her sisters at home might battle the landlord over a leaky pipe or the auto mechanic who charges a fortune but still can't fix the carburetor.

"Did you know," she asks incredulously, "that we are spending $16.7 billion a year in the defense budget to protect the sea lanes of Norway? From what? The salmon?"

The populist crusader image is going to be a lot harder to sell in light of the check-bouncing revelations. But Boxer's enthusiasm and punchy one-liners play well on the stump — much better in fact than in the House where critics accuse her of being a legislative gadfly, more interested in grabbing headlines for liberal crusades than in shaping laws and making the compromises to get them passed. It's a bum rap, says her friend

---

Susan Rasky, a former congressional correspondent for the New York Times, *is a visiting lecturer at UC Berkeley.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and political guru, Democratic Congressman George Miller of Martinez. "She didn't join the 'club' in the House, but she's been very effective."

Effectiveness is a tricky thing to measure in the House of Representatives, particularly in recent years when budget pressures and fractious parties on both sides of the aisle have dictated that members' individual bills be bundled into huge legislative packages and massaged by the House leadership in order to win passage. That situation, combined with the House's complex parliamentary rules and seniority system, makes it difficult for any single member — save the most powerful of committee chairmen — to do much more than nibble at the edges of big issues and hope to influence the debate on some narrow legislative point.

By that standard, Boxer, who after 10 years is still very much a junior member, can claim some legitimate legislative accomplishments: a series of military procurement reform amendments, including a measure in 1988 to protect military whistle blowers; legislation providing for competitive bidding on military spare parts; an amendment permitting use of federal money to fund abortions in cases of rape or incest (vetoed by President Bush).

Less successful have been her repeated attempts to increase fuel-economy standards for autos and to push floor amendments cutting Pentagon funding for various weapons systems. Her effort last year to require prior congressional approval of covert actions in foreign countries was overwhelmingly defeated on the House floor, and she has been unable to block the planned closure of the Presidio in San Francisco.

Frustrated by the constraints of the House, Boxer wants to do her fighting on the Senate's bigger and more free-wheeling stage, where she says she can use her voice to bring national attention to the causes she champions.

"I'm proud of what I've done in the House, but I don't want to stay here for 30 years," she says. "I want some influence, and the Senate is the place where I think I can make a difference."

Curled in the corner of a couch in her Washington office, she is surrounded with budget briefing papers and a cadre of staff members busily searching for the figures she has promised to a hometown reporter who has called to find out how spending cuts proposed by President Bush will affect California. "I'm working while you're working," she says into the telephone, meanwhile motioning a visitor to take a seat.

There is no denying her energy, or passion, for talking about the inadequacies of the health-care system or the need to require Japan and Europe to pick up more of the tab for their own defense costs — two of the themes she hammers at in her campaign appearances. Harder to gauge is her command of the detail and intricate policy balancing that underlie these issues — or her willingness to master that detail. Even off the stump, in the quiet of her own office once the staff are shooed away, she prefers dealing with the ideological bottom line.

She wants to see the defense budget, now roughly $300 billion, cut in half over the next five years, with a portion of the proceeds devoted to deficit reduction and the rest to spending on infrastructure, environmental clean up, medical research and investment incentives for defense-related businesses making the transition to commercial production.

"We're talking about fundamental priorities here," she says. "What we spend on education in this country is one-third to one-half of what we spend defending Japan."

Boxer's strength is her knack for identifying cutting-edge issues and figuring out how to project them to average voters. Waste and abuse in military procurement, for example, were widely discussed and researched on Capitol Hill long before she got to Congress. But she was the one who posed for the TV cameras with a $600 toilet seat cover and a photo of a $7000 coffee pot in her hand to dramatize the problem and to build her case for defense spending cuts.

Theatrics? Sure, and her detractors are quick to point out that Boxer didn't do much of the heavy lifting on the procurement fraud legislation that eventually emerged from the congressional investigations. On the other hand, she clearly helped hasten it.

Congressman Tom Downey, a New York Democrat and a close friend, says Boxer takes more heat for such tactics because she is a woman. "She combines the usual amount of self-promotion with an unusual amount of selflessness," he says, praising her for her help in winning passage of a major bill to overhaul the welfare system in 1988. "Remember, this is a hopelessly male institution."

Boxer has had occasion to learn that in a variety of ways, but one of the most curious involves her periodic efforts to secure more locker-room space in the House gym for female members of Congress. She took her complaints to William Natcher, the Kentucky Democrat and 38-year House veteran who oversees the facility. In October 1989 an account of her efforts appeared in the *Boston Globe*, describing her meeting with Natcher in the men's locker room and reporting that an unclad and unsuspecting Silvio Conte, a Massachusetts Republican who died last year, chose that moment to emerge from the shower. There is only one problem. According to Boxer's office, the incident never occurred. The tale, however, has taken on a life of its own and continues to circulate on Capitol Hill with the names of other House elders substituted for Conte's.

Like many members of the California congressional delegation, Boxer flies home from Washington each weekend, but the three days that used to be reserved for her family are now spent on the road, mostly in the southern part of the state fund raising and speaking to the women's groups that form both her

Advertisement

WE MAKE HEADLINES
The Time
Candidate Sued For Fraud In 1979 '83
The best in
Opposition Research
ACCESS Information Sources & Systems
Serving All California Campaigns
Over 190 Million Files Nationwide
(916) 448-5470
3104 O Street, Suite 331 Sacramento, CA 95816

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural constituency and her contributor base.

For the moment at least, Boxer's gender-based campaign pitch is serving her well. As of December 31, 1991, the most recent month for which campaign finance reports are available, she had raised $2.75 million in her quest for Cranston's seat. That's far more than even her most enthusiastic supporters had expected. With $1.5 million cash on hand at year's end, she was in better financial shape than primary opponent Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, despite his strong lead in public-opinion polls. Her other primary rival, Congressman Mel Levine of Santa Monica, is largely unknown outside his district and barely registers in the polls. But he is sitting on a $4 million campaign war chest, the kind of money Boxer will need to match if she hopes to carry her message beyond women's groups. (New financial figures were due at the end of March.)

Boxer has had some help on that score from an unlikely quarter: Democrat Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who has cohosted a fund raiser on her behalf.

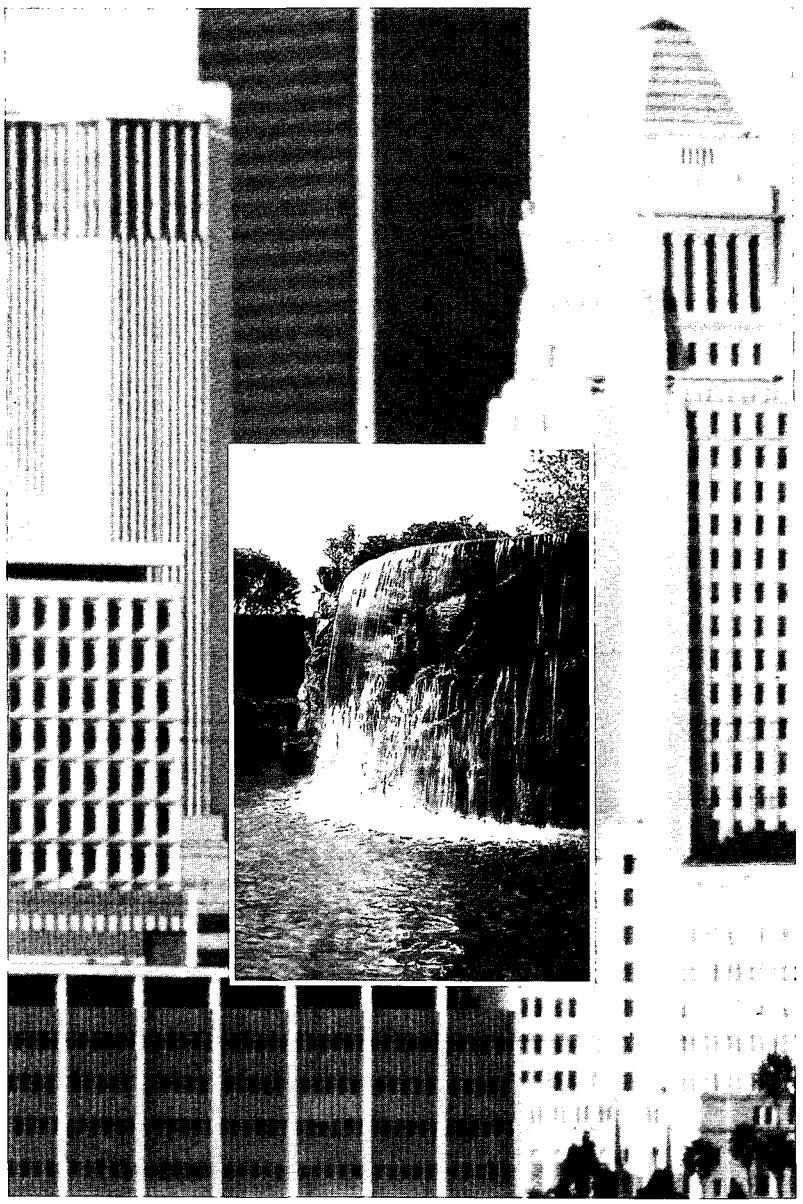
"Barbara is like a bulldog," Rostenkowski says. "She gets her teeth into something and hangs on. But what I appreciate about her is that she will ask something of you, and if you refuse, she's got the ability to let you walk away feeling guilty."

It was Miller who first introduced her to Rostenkowski, an old style Chicago pol not exactly renowned as a champion of feminist causes. A Rostenkowski aide says the unlikely friendship between the Ways and Means chairman and Boxer was cemented the day she walked into his private office just around the corner from the House chamber to ask for his support on her abortion amendment. "You've got to understand," the aide explains, "most people call for an appointment like they were going to have an audience with the Pope or something. But Boxer breezes in and says, 'Danny, you got to vote with me on this abortion thing.' And he says, 'Barbara, I can't vote for it, I'm a Catholic.' It goes on and on like that, back and forth, and finally she shrugs and says, 'Well, I tried,' puts an arm on his shoulder and says 'See ya later.'"

The anecdote is testimony to Boxer's most fervent campaign pledge — that she will shake up the Senate and force

Advertisement

An oasis of tranquility in downtown Los Angeles.



Just a short walk to City, State and Federal offices and courtrooms, The New Otani Hotel offers the visitor to downtown Los Angeles a counterpoint to the excitement and fast pace of the surroundings. A place to relax, refresh and recharge. And now, for government business travelers, The New Otani offers this **special $86 room rate*** It makes this welcome oasis even more attractive, the art of doing business less stressful. Call 800 273-2294 or 800 421-8795 outside CA for reservations and details.

*Single occupancy

The New Otani
HOTEL & GARDEN
LOS ANGELES

120 South Los Angeles St., Los Angeles, CA 90012

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the men in senior leadership positions to confront issues, particularly those important to women. "It's going to come down to a filibuster in the middle of the night," she tells audiences when she speaks about the possibility of a Senate battle over abortion if the Supreme Court reverses its 1973 *Roe V. Wade* decision guaranteeing a constitutional right to abortion. "Who do you want standing toe-to-toe with Jesse Helms?"

But Sam Popkin, a professor of political science at UC San Diego, says a state as large and as diverse as California needs more than a lightening rod in the Senate.

"In the House it's much easier to be a non-legislating legislator because you have the rest of your delegation to cover for you," he argues. "We've always had the Bella Abzugs or the Father Drinans or the Newt Gingriches to play that role. But in the Senate, you are one of only two people representing a state, and you are much more exposed. Political character means having the ability to make and keep deals. I want to know if she can out-maneuver Bob Dole. I know she can out-shout Jesse Helms, but can she outfox him?"

While that type of critique continues to haunt Boxer, particularly because she has geared her campaign so directly to female voters, it is not universal. Indeed, prior to the check-bouncing affair, some political experts were arguing that in a three-way primary contest against two men whose views are largely identical to hers, she had taken precisely the right approach with her grass-roots campaign effort.

Boxer, who clearly thrives on her contact with voters, would spend all of her time campaigning door-to-door if she had her way, says Rose Kapolczynski, her campaign manager and a non-Californian veteran of Colorado U.S. Senator Tim Wirth's Washington, DC, staff. To some extent, the campaign organization reflects the difficulties of trying to meld that grass-roots approach with the realities of California politics. As UC Berkeley political science professor Bruce Cain observes, "The only grass-roots in this state are from the top down, and they are purchased."

Although Boxer has hired professionals like Celinda Lake to do her polling and the consulting firm Grier and Margolis to handle media, she is relying heavily on younger, less-experienced staff and volunteers for much of the campaign's day-to-day operations. If her handling of the House bank problem is any indication, the approach has severe limitations. Boxer was slow to come forward with a statement that she had bounced 87 checks at the House bank even though her primary rivals were raising questions about it. Furthermore, her eventual disclosure in mid-March, when the list of offenders became public, appeared to be at odds with statements she made to reporters last fall about having "no problem" with regard to bounced checks. Her primary and potential general-election opponents have clean bills of health and Boxer has thrown herself on the mercy of voters.

"Barbara's advantage is that she is different, that she's infectious in a positive way. People get a kick out of her so she stands out," says Darry Sragow, a Democratic political advisor who has managed several statewide campaigns. "Her problem is the classic one of running for statewide office in California. You can't be viable until people know who you are, and they won't know who you are until you have the money to buy the TV ads to tell them. But you can't get the money to buy the TV ads until people think you're viable. From a public perspective, she has the best shot at breaking that vicious cycle."

The irony, of course, is that the media exposure Boxer so desperately needs is now coming in the form of the most negative publicity.

Scandals aside, Democratic campaign consultant Clint Reilly, who is not involved in either of the state's two Senate races this year but has worked for Boxer in the past, says California's political arithmetic may well work to Boxer's advantage in the primary, but that the same arithmetic works against her if she makes it to the general election in November. "There are roughly 750,000 more Democratic women than Democratic men in this state, and if she can get half of those Democratic women to vote for her in the primary, she is well on her way to winning it," he says.

The problem in the general election, he continues, is that Democrats no longer make up the majority of the state's registered voters, and as a result Democrats must carry Republican counties in the Central Valley and the southern part of the state in order to win. A candidate as liberal as Boxer is unlikely to find such support in those areas, he says, noting that Dianne Feinstein, a more moderate Democrat seeking the two-year Senate seat this year, lost those areas in her 1990 bid for the governorship.

"Gender-based politics can be enormously significant in a multi-candidate field, but in a two-person race come November, what you find is that Democratic women vote for the woman, and Republican women, along with older Democratic men who think Boxer is too liberal, vote Republican," Reilly concludes.

Bruce Cain says the other problem Boxer faces in playing the gender card is the Feinstein candidacy in the race for the "short" Senate seat. "We live in an era when voters split their tickets. We don't know why, exactly, but I have to believe that if they do it on party, they may it also do it on gender."

The banking scandal clearly alters the complexion of her race but no one expected her to get this far. If the economy doesn't improve she could well be the beneficiary of a voter backlash against Republicans. And if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*, all bets are off.

Advertisement

LOBBYIST REFERRAL SERVICE

Swift, professional assistance in selecting the most appropriate and effective advocate to accomplish your legislative and regulatory objectives. All inquiries are strictly confidential. No fee.

Skip Daum
Political Consulting since 1975

916/927-1234 916/927-4811 (FAX)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

MEL LEVINE

Can he spend himself to a Senate victory?

By Laura Mecoy

He was a child of the Sixties, coming of age as the Vietnam War escalated into the leading political and social issue of his time. Like many of his generation, Santa Monica Congressman Mel Levine was swept up in the protest movement, fighting to end the bitter battle that was killing young men like himself.

Nearly three decades later, the anti-war activist-turned-congressman found himself on the other side. He was an unannounced U.S. Senate candidate, and the anti-war protesters were picketing him. Two dozen demonstrators, led by Vietnam veteran and anti-war activist Ron Kovic, descended on Levine's district office last year to protest the Persian Gulf War. Small groups picketed some of the Democratic lawmaker's appearances.

But Meldon Edises Levine had already made up his mind about Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

The five-term congressman began warning of the threat Saddam posed to the region in 1983. He was horrified when Saddam gassed his own people, and he called for economic sanctions against Iraq two years before President Bush. When the time came to vote to use force against Iraq, Levine concluded that Saddam had to be stopped. On January 12, 1991, he voted to send young men and women into combat, a vote he could never have imagined 30 years ago.

"This is a very wrenching event for me because my political education and political knowledge ... were forged in opposition to the war in Vietnam," Levine told his House colleagues shortly before the vote. "But I think that we must be honest with ourselves and recognize that the analogy is much more that of World War II than it is to that of Vietnam."

Many would call it a defining moment in this 48-year-old Southern Californian's career, a time when Levine turned away from the idealism of his youth, relied on the foreign policy experience he gained in nine years on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and made the hard choice to buck his liberal constituents.

But his more cynical colleagues also saw the vote as a defining moment in

---

Laura Mecoy is a Washington, DC, reporter for McClatchy Newspapers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Levine's Senate campaign, a savvy political maneuver that would distinguish the liberal lawmaker from every other Democrat considering a Senate bid last January.

As Levine launches his 1992 campaign to replace retiring Senator Alan Cranston, it is no surprise that the Persian Gulf War vote is the centerpiece of his claim to be an "independent candidate." He is portraying himself as one who doesn't follow the polls or the special interests and is willing to take a stand against the president or his own political party.

It's a message Levine believes will appeal to voters who are "desperately seeking new political leadership."

"We all know people are sick and disgusted with politicians these days," he said. "We have a system that has not worked well, that has not been responsive. People do make judgments based on public opinion polls, special interests and single-issues. I don't. I haven't."

It is this message his supporters say will bring Levine from way behind the other two leading Democratic candidates for the six-year Senate seat — Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and Millbrae Congresswoman Barbara Boxer.

But it is his $4 million campaign bankroll that gives his campaign credibility. In December 31, 1991, campaign-finance filings, Levine reported he had three times more money in the bank than either Boxer or McCarthy. He can also call on his own personal wealth, if needed. He already loaned $200,000 to his campaign, and his financial reports show he and his wife are worth more than $1 million, largely because of inherited money.

But Levine is so unknown to the public — the last *California Poll* showed just 6 percent of the electorate supported him — that he is expected to need more money than either of his competitors to get elected. He's done so little so far to get his message to voters that political pundits have dubbed him the "stealth candidate."

Levine's made the fewest public appearances and the least news of the three Democratic contenders for Cranston's seat. When he held a successful fund-raiser early last year, he gave reporters barely five minutes for interviews. Until mid-February, he was almost impossible to reach for comment on campaign stories — even when the stories focused on the very issues Levine wished to emphasize.

Levine said that's all changed. He'll be more accessible and more visible to the public in the remaining months before the June 2nd primary. He said he wanted to raise money first and then focus on public appearances and paid media in the final months of the campaign when voters are paying closer attention to the race.

"I had not announced my candidacy in 1991, and I felt that rather than announce a candidacy early and say I'm going to do this and get that support ... I should do it. I should go out there and get that support throughout California," he said. "Once I am an announced candidate, I will be out there."

But his fund-raising efforts already caused him to miss 40 percent of the House votes last year, opening him to criticism for having the second worst attendance record in the House.

"I didn't miss a single vote where my vote would have been determinative, and I have a track record as a congressman of accomplishment which I believe will enable me to communicate a message of leadership throughout California," Levine said.

Many California political insiders and even some of Levine's supporters have privately questioned his absences and his focus on fund-raising to the exclusion of just about anything else. Their "conventional wisdom" would have him holding press conferences, attending political events and showing up for as many votes as possible.

Others, however, have praised his single-mindedness.

"He is running what I would consider a model campaign strategy," Congressman Cal Dooley, a Visalia Democrat and Levine supporter, said. "His strategy has been very clear: People don't focus on the election until the last few months, and the most appropriate allocation of a candidate's time is to try to raise campaign funds prior to that."

Over the years, Levine has made no secret of his interest in the Senate, and he has kept his campaign coffers filled in preparation for such a bid.

Congressman Henry Waxman, who along with Congressman Howard Berman runs a powerful Democratic political operation in West Los Angeles, said the campaign is just getting started. The Los Angeles Democrat said Levine "will be positioned to win it. It's not where you start. It's where you end up."

Levine is a product of the so-called "Berman-Waxman machine." He's been so successful at tapping into its West Los Angeles' Jewish constituency and fund-raising base that Berman's brother, Michael, and Carl D'Agostino, who operate a political consulting firm called "BAD Campaigns," point to Levine as an example of how to do fund-raising right.

Michael Berman and D'Agostino made that observation in a controversial memo leaked to *The Los Angeles Times* during the 1989 Los Angeles mayoral race. The memo used blunt language to urge Los Angeles mayoral candidate Zev Yaroslavsky to mobilize the political and financial support of the Jewish community. It urged the Los Angeles city councilman to make a list of every mainstream Jewish charity, members of every Los Angeles Jewish country club and "show business personalities in Jewish Los Angeles." It also told him to skip City Council business, even though his absences would produce some negative stories, because the millions he would raise would make up for any bad press.

The memo created such a controversy that Yaroslavsky fired the consultants. He later dropped his bid against Mayor Tom Bradley.

Levine said it's "fairly silly" to suggest that advice applies to him since it was written for a mayoral candidate. Emphasizing each point with a finger jabbed firmly into his desk, the congressman said the Senate bid was his campaign, and it would be based on his experience and his record.

His is a liberal Democratic record. He supported the Democratic leadership more than 90 percent of the time he's been in the House, and he's earned high rankings from such liberal groups as Americans for Democratic Action and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Civil Liberties Union.

Levine billed himself a "progressive Democrat," and pointed out instances where he differs with the more liberal wing of his party. For instance, he favors targeted capital-gains tax cuts and has supported the death penalty since 1982. He advocates government investment in private research and development to create new technologies and jobs. He is one of two chairmen of Rebuild America, a Washington think tank that promotes competitiveness by advocating government and corporate investment in new plants, new equipment and research and development.

But on some of this year's hottest political issues, Levine is still formulating his agenda. He would cut defense spending, but he hasn't determined which weapons systems should be eliminated. He wants universal health coverage, but he hasn't yet endorsed any particular plan. And he believes in welfare reform, but he hasn't outlined how he would change the system.

Like his two Democratic opponents, Levine has a strong environmental record. He serves on the House Interior Committee and is part of the team of California House members who fought offshore oil drilling. He helped enact limits on air pollution from offshore rigs, and he played a critical role in stopping Occidental Petroleum from drilling for oil along Will Rogers State Beach.

Along with Congressman Rick Lehman, a Democrat from Sanger, Levine won House approval last year of the largest land protection legislation for the continental United States — the California Desert Protection Act. The measure would expand federal protection to more than seven million acres of the state's southeast corner.

"His credentials are impeccable," Lehman, a Levine supporter and longtime friend, said. "He hasn't climbed there over any bodies. He's dealt with the big issues in a low-key fashion ... Mel has just been an achiever all his life."

But Republicans bitterly attacked Lehman and Levine for refusing to negotiate with them on the desert bill, a charge the two disputed. Republican Congressman Jerry Lewis of Redlands said the two Democrats chose to "roll right over" the congressmen who represented the area.

The desert bill remains bogged down in the Senate where Republican California Senator John Seymour is seeking to reduce the acreage and the level of protection sought in the legislation. Seymour, however, has said he would rather negotiate with Lehman and Levine than California Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, who first introduced the desert bill.

Levine is also an active member of the House Judiciary Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He has distinguished himself in the House as a leading voice for Israel, urging increased aid for the country and fighting 1980s arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

By all accounts, Levine is smart, relatively effective in accomplishing his goals and works well behind-the-scenes. He's also popular with his colleagues, plays on the House Democratic baseball team every year and was one of a handful of House members who studied karate together and earned a black belt.

Levine is a rabid baseball fan whose dream job would be playing first base for the Los Angeles Dodgers. The closest he's come is taking batting practice with his favorite team. His friends also describe him as a devoted family man. He has three children 8-year-old twins, Jake and Cara, and 10-year-old Adam. His wife, Jan, took a leave from her job as an

Advertisement

The 8th Annual
Political Campaign Management Institute

July 10-12 at the University of California, Davis

Prepare to win
Learn the latest in ★ strategy ★ organizing ★ message design and delivery ★ polling ★ fundraising ★ field operations ★ and more

Get an edge in 1992
Hear about the effects of ★ redistricting ★ campaign law changes ★ shifts in voting patterns

Learn from experts
Faculty includes ★ field organizer Marshall Ganz ★ communications strategist Ray McNally ★ campaign specialist Murray Fishel ★ plus seven other campaign experts

For a free brochure
Call Julie Gondry today at (916) 757-8643

921 702

University Extension
University of California, Davis

Advertisement

The Competitive Edge-

A degree in public administration, business, management or law from Golden Gate University

For the convenience of working adults, Golden Gate University offers:

- evening and weekend classes
- classes taught by accomplished scholars and top business professionals
- degree programs in many career fields leading to bachelor's, master's and law degrees
- convenient locations in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area

Sacramento
916/648-1446

Bay Area Locations
415/442-7800

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY · FOUNDED IN 1901

Golden Gate University, a private, nonprofit institution of higher education founded in San Francisco in 1901, is accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attorney with People for the American Way, and the entire family moved back to Los Angeles last year so they could spend more time together during the campaign.

The congressman also said he often takes one of his children to events and on trips with him so he can spend more time with them. In a couple of instances, however, his children have let him know just what they thought of dad, the politician. When Levine spoke at a Labor Day event last year with his 10-year-old son, Adam, in his arms, the youngster decided it was a good time to "decorate" dad's face with a magic marker. In 1988, while the congressman was speaking at a McCarthy Senate fund-raiser, his son Jake snuck to the front of the crowd and shot his father in the chest with a pop gun.

"He concluded my remarks were getting a little too long," Levine said.

His friends, and even some of his former opponents, describe Levine as an easy-going, likeable person. Los Angeles attorney Bob Draper first met Levine when they were freshmen at the University of California at Berkeley and Levine was running against Draper for class office. Levine won. The two still became friends, and Draper said it was apparent even then that Levine would wind up in public office.

"I think everybody who knew Mel felt like he would run for office one day," Draper said. "He has a unique ability to be successful politically without taking some of the negative baggage along."

Levine was class president of the 1964 senior class at Berkeley and graduated with honors. He went on to study national security and foreign policy at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and law at Harvard University. He practiced law for two years after graduating Harvard in 1969, then went to work as a legislative assistant to former California Senator John Tunney. In 1973 he opened his own law firm in Los Angeles. Three years later, a group of Jewish leaders asked him to be their unpaid lobbyist on behalf of legislation prohibiting California companies from joining the Arab boycott of Israel. Howard Berman was in the Assembly at the time and author of the boycott bill. In getting the measure enacted, the two men forged a friendship and political alliance that became the foundation for Levine's future political campaigns.

Berman urged Levine to run for public office when a Los Angeles Assembly seat opened up in 1977. Levine won that first Assembly race and served four years in the state Legislature. In 1982, after the late Congressman Phil Burton's redistricting plan changed the 27th Congressional District from a Republican to a Democratic seat, he ran for Congress and continued to hold the job with comfortable margins.

Over the years, Levine has made no secret of his interest in the Senate, and he has kept his campaign coffers filled in preparation for such a bid. Several friends said Levine had wanted to wait until his children were older before making a statewide race.

But when two Senate seats opened up this year, and it became apparent his congressional seat would be eliminated in redistricting, he had no choice but to launch the controversial come-from-behind campaign that Mel Levine believes will prove the conventional wisdom wrong.

Advertisement

Subscribe to

ELECTION WEEKLY

The 1992 elections in California include 154 races for the Assembly, state Senate and Congress. Court-drawn district reapportionment, term limits imposed by Proposition 140, and the unusual occurrence of two U.S. Senate races in the same year combine to create more competitive races than at any time in this century. *Election Weekly* has been created especially for 1992 to provide comprehensive data and analysis for this extraordinary year.

Edited by Richard Zeiger and A. G. Block of the *California Journal*, **Election Weekly** contains information available nowhere else and will be mailed to you First Class each week.

Here's what you get:

- 40 weekly issues ranging from 4 to 8 pages running through the General Election;
- A binder to hold the issues for later reference;
- *California Journal*'s election booklets:
  - Guide to Election Finance Laws
  - Legislative District Maps
  - Ballot Propositions booklet
  - Political Action Handbook

The price for this comprehensive 1992 election-year service is $225.00.

***California Journal* subscribers may subscribe at the discounted price of $195.00**

Yes, enter my subscription to ELECTION WEEKLY

❑ I have enclosed payment

❑ Charge to my credit card:

MasterCard # _____ exp. _____

VISA # _____ exp. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Telephone # _____

Please add 7.75% sales tax to all orders.

Send your check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento CA 95814.
For more information call 916/444-2840 or FAX your order to 916/444-2339.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art by Laurie Hicklin

LEO MCCARTHY

Once more into the breach for a veteran politician

By Steve Scott

You don't have to be in his presence long to be aware that Leo McCarthy has got politics down cold. A recent day on his schedule found the three-term lieutenant governor meeting at noon with student leaders angry about their pending fee increases, then six hours later appearing at a dinner sponsored by the Congress of California Seniors. It's hard to conceive of two more disparate political constituencies, yet McCarthy seems no more out of place chatting with students than he is with the seniors, for whom he has become something of a folk hero.

This knack for the fine art of alliance-building has helped McCarthy build an impressive-looking resume — five years on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors; 14 years in the Assembly, including six as speaker; and nine years as lieutenant governor. Yet, for all his apparent success, Leo McCarthy remains a perennial bridesmaid. The lieutenant governor has little in the way of formal executive power, and the job carries the same stigma of inactivity associated with the vice-presidency. Even as Assembly speaker —arguably the most powerful legislative job outside Washington, DC — McCarthy often found himself overshadowed by his iconoclastic fellow Democrat, Governor Jerry Brown.

The urge to move from the sideshow to the center ring has prompted McCarthy to make his second bid for the U.S. Senate, running in the so-called "long seat" being vacated by Alan Cranston. (He previously lost to incumbent Senator now Governor Pete Wilson in the 1988 race for U.S. Senate.) For the 61-year-old lieutenant governor, 1992 may represent his last chance to step into

Steve Scott is a freelance writer and radio reporter from Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the unreflected limelight that has eluded him in 28 years in public life.

"I think Leo has an excellent chance of winning the 1992 Democratic primary for Senate," said Darry Sragow, campaign manager for McCarthy's 1988 U.S. Senate race. "He has an extraordinary name recognition and a presumably much better fund-raising base than he had starting from scratch in 1988."

Those who have worked with him closely describe McCarthy as a workaholic who somehow has managed to maintain a stable family life.

"He just put in unbelievably inhuman hours, and then he went home every night to San Francisco," said Howard Gingold, McCarthy's press secretary during his last three years as speaker. "He just wanted to maintain a home life, instead of the charade that often passes for a home life in Sacramento."

That dedication led to some significant policy achievements during his six-year tenure as speaker, including passage of the landmark California Environmental Quality Act. Still, the McCarthy speakership is primarily remembered for how it ended — in an emotionally charged leadership rumble with then-Assemblyman Howard Berman. The leadership fight paralyzed the Legislature for the better part of a year and eventually ended in a draw, with McCarthy being replaced by a fellow San Franciscan, Willie Brown.

Gingold believes the experience sobered McCarthy. "One day you're sitting on top of the heap ... and everybody loves you, and the next day almost half the house is going to be against you. That's got to be a helluva revelation."

With the wounds from the speakership fight still smarting, McCarthy opted out of an expected run for governor, deciding instead to run for lieutenant governor. He beat former Assembly minority leader Carol Hallett in 1982, then easily won re-election in 1986, despite being one of only a handful of Democratic officials to openly proclaim support for the re-confirmation of Chief Justice Rose Bird. As lieutenant governor, McCarthy has always maintained an active legislative agenda, but he concedes the job has been limiting.

"When I was speaker," McCarthy said, "I could say something perfectly inane and be quoted as saying something that must be important. As lieutenant governor, I could make a telling comment full of wisdom and have it ignored."

With his political itch still not fully scratched, McCarthy decided to challenge incumbent U.S. Senator Pete Wilson in 1988. With a clear primary field and early polls showing him only seven points behind, McCarthy believed he was within striking distance. Then, in the spring, Wilson's campaign aired a series of unanswered spots attacking the prospective Democratic nominee, widening the gap between them to 19 points.

"At that moment," recalls McCarthy, "none of the political writers took the Senate race seriously, and my fund raising became 10 times tougher."

Although he was out-spent two-to-one in the '88 race, money was not McCarthy's only problem. The campaign also lacked a compelling focus from which the case could be made for unseating an incumbent. According to Sragow, "What we kept hearing over and over again was, 'Why should I go out of my way to work against Pete Wilson? He's not so bad.'"

One former aide, who asked not to be identified, also laid some of the blame on the high-powered campaign team borrowed from Alan Cranston. "It would have taken an excellent campaign to knock off Wilson that year. Leo did not get an excellent campaign."

With another painfully public defeat on his record, many believed McCarthy's career had reached a dead end. Passing again on an open governor's seat, he instead ran a successful, though low-budget bid for a third term as lieutenant governor. He seemed destined to join the long list of Assembly speakers whose stars faded after they left the Legislature. However, the political storm clouds that began gathering around Cranston offered McCarthy his best opportunity yet to move up. When Cranston announced his retirement, McCarthy quickly began organizing another Senate campaign.

The 1992 campaign seems, at least at the outset, to have taken the lessons of '88 to heart. In addition to getting a much earlier start on fund-raising, McCarthy has actively sought to define himself before his opponents define him. As campaign manager Roy Behr puts it, "One of the things we learned from that [1988] campaign is the importance of having a strong, *understandable* message."

The issue to which McCarthy has hitched his wagon is the protection of middle-class jobs. Virtually every public appearance includes some kind of appeal to middle-class voters, even on seemingly tangential issues such as his opposition to fee hikes for UC and CSU students. "You're inviting enormous social divisions in this state," he says, "if you don't take the steps to create middle-class jobs."

To protect these jobs, McCarthy has endorsed the increasingly familiar laundry list of tax breaks: a middle-income tax cut; an investment tax credit; and a permanent credit for research and development. Unlike many other Democrats, he supports a capital gains tax cut, but on a sliding scale, and only for companies that agree to invest in manufacturing for longer than five years. McCarthy also has tried to innoculate himself against Governor Wilson's November welfare reform initiative, proposing that benefits for newcomers be restricted during their first year of residency.

In addition to maintaining a more focused message, McCarthy has used his position as lieutenant governor to keep his name before the voters. Whether it be voting against a student fee increase on the UC Board of Regents or presiding over State Lands Commission meetings, the lieutenant governor has kept an active public schedule. While it's unlikely any one action will register much of an impression with voters, the cumulative effect can benefit a candidate.

"It gives them a chance to show their repertoire," says Mervyn Field, founder of the *California Poll*. "It's like a prizefighter — he's warming up and saying, 'Here's my left, and here's my right.'"

Another benefit in being lieutenant governor is that it's a job that is almost impossible to screw up. As a statewide officeholder, McCarthy has been able to build a solid political base virtually without risk, because of the lieutenant governor's relatively limited role. "One of the few plusses of being lieutenant governor," said former McCarthy press secretary Steve Hopcraft, "is that there's very little negative that sticks to you."

His high profile and relatively positive public image have helped McCarthy to a strong lead over his Democratic rivals in early statewide polling. The January *California Poll* shows McCarthy beating his primary opponents, Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gresswoman Barbara Boxer from Marin and Congressman Mel Levine from Los Angeles. It also favors him in head-to-head matchups against all three of his potential Republican rivals. Perhaps more tellingly, only he and former pop star Sonny Bono enjoy name recognition among more than half the voters. According to Field, "to the degree to which the public pays attention to politics, he [McCarthy] has a defined image."

Despite a decidedly rosier outlook than he faced four years ago, McCarthy is far from a shoo-in to even get past the primary. For one thing, he is probably the least telegenic of the three Democratic contenders. While personable and relaxed one-on-one, or in small groups, McCarthy is stiff and formal in front of cameras, and can occasionally come off as somewhat condescending. "I never really got him to loosen up and be comfortable in the limelight," says former press secretary Gingold. "I still don't think he is comfortable in the spotlight."

His lack of a forceful media presence has caused McCarthy to be categorized as being solid, but not sensational. Says Field, "He's a nice, honest guy, but not a lot of charisma, and somewhat colorless ... in terms of how he's viewed by the public."

This low-key public image could become a serious liability if Boxer is able to successfully position herself as offering an alternative to continued male domination in the Senate. Democratic consultant Sragow says McCarthy's dilemma is similar to that which faced John Van de Kamp in his primary battle with Dianne Feinstein in the 1990 governor's race. "Voters will have a choice between a reasonably well-known, longtime political figure, and someone who gives all the appearances of being a bright, fresh face — Barbara Boxer."

In order to blunt the impact of this appeal, McCarthy's handlers have launched what Field calls "the Latter-Day Outsider" campaign. This strategy positions McCarthy as being closer to the voters because he's been in California, rather than back in Washington, DC. While McCarthy denies he is trying to run as an outsider, his campaign staff maintains a steady attack on Boxer and Levine for their congressional pedigrees. "The other two candidates," says Behr, "have the burden of explaining why the legislature that they've been a member of for oh-so-many years has done nothing on all these issues that are so important to the middle class."

But selling voters on the idea that a 28-year political veteran is an "outsider" may be difficult, according to Sragow. "If you look at how voters perceive the candidates ... Leo McCarthy would presumably be viewed as an experienced insider, rather than an outsider."

While Boxer may offer a "bright, fresh face," it's clear that McCarthy forces are more worried about the face they can't see yet. Although he has so far barely registered in statewide polling, Mel Levine is sitting on a $4 million dollar campaign war chest — more than the other two combined. With that money, Levine is expected to blitz the airwaves during the last month of the campaign and the target of most of those ads will be the front-runner.

McCarthy concedes Levine's campaign is the most unsettling uncertainty of the race. "If he's able to spend millions in the last three weeks in attacks that I can't answer, that's the only thing that's going to cause me to lose."

Ironically, McCarthy's best defense against this strategy may be the very circumstance that harmed him in 1988 — the swirl of competing political events surrounding the race. The 1992 campaign features *two* U.S. Senate races, a presidential race and perhaps dozens of contested congressional and legislative races. "It's just going to be a cacophonic time," said Field. "Trying to get name ID in that kind of milieu is going to be very difficult."

Should he make it past the primary, more pitfalls await McCarthy. While he would presumably be the favorite in a race against Bruce Herschensohn or Sonny Bono, Field says Tom Campbell poses a problem. "Campbell is a moderate, and the Democratic winner in the 'long seat' is going to be bloodied to some degree, whether it's Leo, Barbara or Mel."

McCarthy also can expect to have his change of position on the death penalty and his support for Rose Bird used against him, as it has in previous statewide races. Behr insists his camp can answer any attack thrown at their candidate. "All of the attacks that are to be made have already been made. Everything bad that there is to know about him people already know, and yet here he is the front-runner, and one of the most popular politicians in the state."

His status as a known commodity is what gives McCarthy the belief that his time has finally come. "I'm the only Democrat who beats Tom Campbell by a wide margin. If my fund raising goes reasonably well ... I'm going to win this primary." His confidence doesn't dim when reminded that a victory in the primary means facing another well-financed Republican opponent. "This time," he says with a smile, "there's no Pete Wilson."

Advertisement

Contact:
Kathy Lynch
201 Lathrop Way
Sacramento 95815
916 924-8288

STATEWIDE
INFORMATION
SYSTEMS

FOR ALL YOUR CAMPAIGN COMPUTER NEEDS.
LET STATEWIDE INFORMATION SYSTEMS WORK FOR YOU!

Mailing Labels • Walk Lists • Phone Lists
Laser Letters • Targeting Reports
Polling Samples • Voter Profiles
Customized Voter Contact Materials
And Much More.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

1992 California Directories

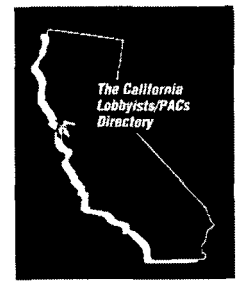
These three directories are indispensable tools for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press, and government agencies that need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. The California Directories provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy-making.

"The indispensable government reference tool."

State Government

Looseleaf with quarterly update service

Names, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, committees, and staff of the Legislature. Descriptions of state departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with over 2600 listing. 170 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11".



Lobbyists/PACs

New 1992 edition: the only up-to-date list.

Name, address and phone numbers of lobbyists, firms and employers and political action committees. 210 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11. (Available March 31st).

Local Government

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. 346 pages, 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 11. **New 1992 edition available now.**

Order Form

1992 California Directories

☐ State Government, $125.00 ☐ Lobbyists/PACs, $40.00 ☐ Local Government, $60.00

☐ All Three, $195.00 (a saving of 15%)

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

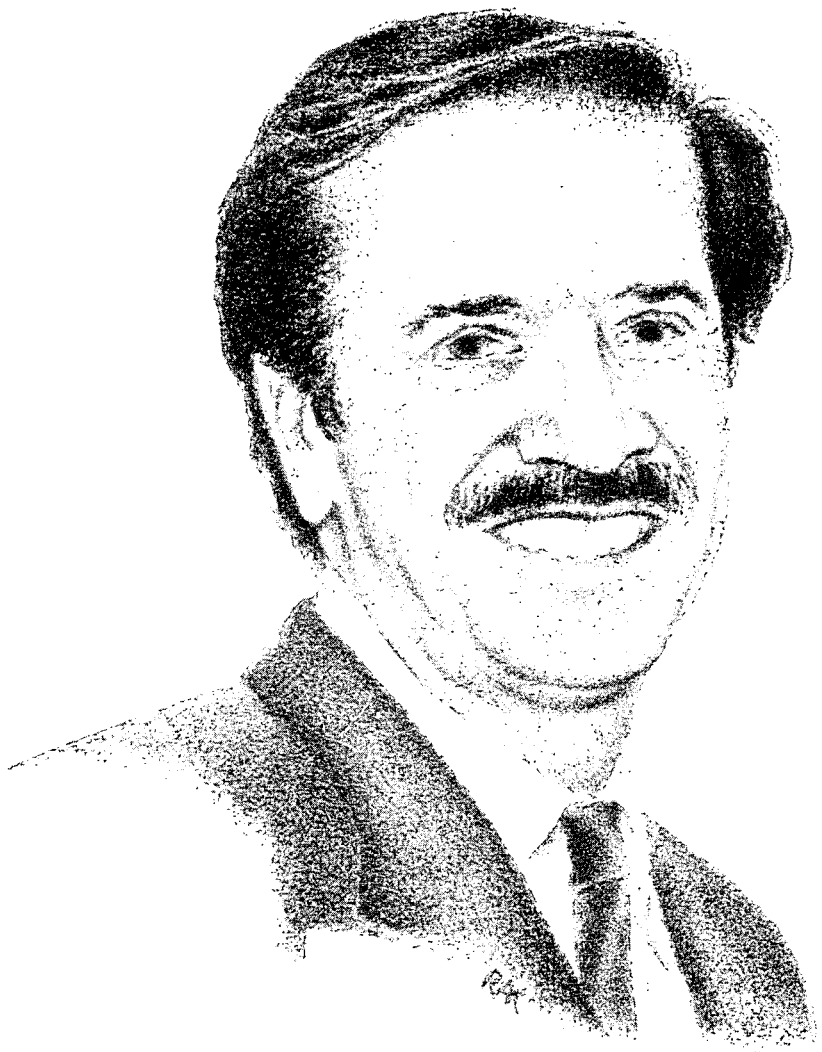
_____ Zip _____

Telephone # _____ / _____

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 handling to all orders.

Send check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to ***California Journal***, **1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814**. For immediate orders or more information call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



art by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

SONNY BONO

Is this guy for real?

By Mark Henry

He's put away the diamond-studded earring that shocked the locals in Palm Springs. He's given up his Harley-Davidson and his black leather jacket. He's even trimmed his once-scraggly hair to a neat Republican length.

But as Sonny Bono trudges the campaign trail for a GOP nomination to the U.S. Senate, he's still trying to shed his image as straight man to Cher's jokes and emerge as a statesman capable of serving at the national level.

The big question for many is, "Can he do it?"

Bono, a self-described "anti-incumbent street guy," hopes to convince fellow Republicans he has what he says his opponents lack: a sincere desire to serve his constituents and represent their interests in Washington. "I believe I represent what California voters really want, vis-a-vis an outsider," Bono says.

Republican activists say it's too early to say if Bono is their answer, though many seem drawn to his homespun style and common-sense approach to government.

"A number of folks are impressed that he's an outsider and somewhat of a citizen-politician and is taking on two very formidable candidates who have been raising a lot of money and courting major endorsements," says Warren Merrill, executive director of the San Francisco Republican Party. "He's someone who entered the race without a political background, really, and is trying to appeal to the common voter."

Bono, 57, acknowledges he faces an uphill run for the seat now occupied by Democrat Alan Cranston, who is retiring. A relative newcomer to poli-

---

Mark Henry is a reporter for the Press-Enterprise *of Riverside.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tics, Bono must defeat two GOP veterans in the June primary, where he faces television commentator Bruce Herschensohn of Los Angeles and two-term Congressman Tom Campbell, a Stanford University professor. Bono portrays himself as a mainstream conservative, with Campbell to the left and Herschensohn to the right.

"The good news is, I have high name identification," adds Bono, the outgoing mayor of Palm Springs. "The bad news is, my name is associated with an entertainer — a straight man. I still have to wean people off the straight-man character."

Republican Congressman Al McCandless of LaQuinta, a veteran legislator whose congressional district covers Palm Springs, says Bono is qualified for a Senate seat but agrees many people still remember him as a showman. "I think Sonny suffers from that kind of imagery," the congressman says.

Bono's candidacy has prompted a closer look at other aspects of his life. Reporters have questioned him about everything from drug use to his ties to the Church of Scientology. They've asked why he waited until 1986 to register to vote. They wonder if he'll raise enough money to run an effective primary campaign. And some doubt he has the smarts and experience to become a good senator.

But as Bono stumps across the state, many Republicans seem less concerned about those questions than about whether he can make a difference in an era of growing voter rebellion toward entrenched politicians. While some fault his lack of depth on issues, others find his sincerity refreshing.

"The fact that he's not a polished, accomplished politician doesn't turn me off," says Harold Hoogasian, a member of the San Francisco County Republican Central Committee who heard Bono's pitch in January. "He impressed me as a real guy, which the others don't."

Bono's image has tagged along as he moved from show business to politics. As Sonny and Cher in the mid-1960s, Bono and his wife donned bobcat vests, bell-bottom pants and boat-neck shirts at a time when other music groups stuck to trendy suits. As a candidate for mayor of Palm Springs four years ago, he played the role of *enfant terrible*, cruising around town on his Harley-Davidson and bashing the business district for its plethora of T-shirt shops and tacky-looking signs.

Growing up in a middle-class neighborhood on Detroit's East Side, Bono moved to Los Angeles with his parents at the end of World War II. His mother was a beautician and his father toiled as an autoworker for Ford Motor Company. Though he never mastered a musical instrument, Bono learned three or four piano chords, which served as musical guides for his songs. His television breakthrough came as a senior at Inglewood High School, when he wrote a song called "Whispering Trees" and performed it on "Peter Potter's Platter Parade," an ABC prime-time show featuring new artists.

After graduation, Bono drove a meat truck along a route past several independent recording companies.

"Every week, I'd write a song, and then Monday I'd deliver the meat twice as fast so that I could go into the record companies," he recalled several years ago. "I would run in there and sing them a song and jump back in my truck and deliver the rest of the meat."

He finally caught on as a producer for Speciality Records in 1957 and later cut his own singles under the name Don Christy. As Bono tells it, the phenomenon of Sonny and Cher started one night at Aldo's, a popular restaurant on Hollywood Boulevard, where he met Cher Sarkisian, a 16-year-old who was staying with girlfriends near Bono's apartment. The duo started recording as Caesar and Cleo but switched to Sonny and Cher before their first hit, "Baby Don't Go," in 1964. Cher attributed their early success to Bono's ability to stay ahead of the times. "He saw trends and was able to implement them," Cher recalled in a 1988 interview. "He was the first person I'd ever seen in my life with long hair."

When Bono ran for mayor, he had such a hard time convincing the locals he wasn't joking that he held an extra press conference just to make sure.

Five of Bono's recordings reached the Billboard Top 100 in 1965, including "I Got You Babe," which became the couple's signature song and sold three million records. When their singing act got stale, Sonny and Cher turned to the nightclub circuit and developed a comedy routine that became the basis for the Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour. The highly rated CBS program ran from 1971 to 1974, when their breakup exposed the myth of the inseparable TV couple. Bono recalled that his career spiraled downward for years as his identity remained tied to Sonny and Cher.

But in 1984 Bono met the woman who would become his fourth wife, Mary Whitaker, when she visited his Los Angeles restaurant the night she graduated from USC. They married two years later and now live with their son Chesare, 3, and infant daughter Chianna in a Mediterranean villa in Palm Springs.

Bono's political awakening came in 1986 after he hassled with the city of Palm Springs over permits for a sign outside his Sicilian-style restaurant. Bono blamed the delays on red tape, outdated rules and a detached attitude in local government. It wasn't long before he launched a full-blown mayoral campaign against an "old guard" that ruled the town.

While many locals poo-poohed Bono's bid as a ploy to boost business at his eatery, Bono pushed ahead as the "rebel" candidate and won the 1988 election in a landslide. He has since sold his Palm Springs restaurant. As mayor, Bono says he erased a $2 million city budget deficit and revitalized a once-fading desert resort by creating the Palm Springs International Film Festival and bringing other tourist-oriented events. Along the way, Bono offended the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians when he complained that the city would have no say over a proposed gaming casino on reservation land in Palm Springs. This drew the ire of Tribal Chairman Richard Milanovich, a fellow Republican who was insulted by Bono's inference that the wealthy tribe would build anything less than a high-class project worthy of the resort mecca.

As he's campaigned across the state and debated his opponents, Bono has drawn criticism from Campbell and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

others who say he lacks depth on the issues. Bono agrees he's not the best orator who ever lived but says he succeeds not by presenting every detail of every issue but by setting goals then finding ways to make them happen.

"I think we're in an anti-incumbent era, and you don't have to be the glib, articulate politician that we're used to seeing," Bono says. "When you watch politicians, they go on and on to the point of boredom."

At the recent state Republican Convention in Burlingame, Bono didn't exactly wow the delegates with his verbal skills. But his popularity there could be measured by the autograph hounds and others drawn to his hospitality suite.

For the record, Bono is pro-choice, though he and his wife oppose abortion on a personal level and Bono says he does not support federal funding for abortion. Bono supports Governor Pete Wilson's veto of the gay rights bill to grant minority status based on sexual preference. He would slash the defense budget by $50 billion over five years but wants the Star Wars missile defense program and more B-2 bombers. To boost the economy, Bono favors cutting the capital gains tax by 15 percent instead of the flat tax proposed by Herschensohn.

Bono has had to defend himself on other fronts. He denies ever using drugs, despite acknowledging in a 1988 interview that he tried marijuana five or six times before quitting. Bono now says he doesn't remember ever saying that. "My official position is I've never done drugs," Bono adds. As a popular performer in 1968, Bono hosted a film depicting the dangers of marijuana at a time when the rock music culture and drugs went hand-in-hand.

Questioned about his ties to the Church of Scientology, Bono says he is not a member or follower, though he took a Scientology course on ethics in the early 1980s — at a time when his marriage to his third wife, Susie Coelho, was failing. Bono says, "If you're going to clearly define my religion, I'm a Christian and a Catholic."

On why he waited until 1986 to register to vote, Bono offers no excuses. "I wouldn't want to justify it. It's just laziness and not caring and not being involved — all the wrong reasons." Bono now considers voting a responsibility and a part of being an American. Otherwise, he says, "If you get a hand dealt to you, and you're not part of it, then it's your fault."

Jumping into the race last October, Bono predicted he would need at least $5 million for the primary campaign. He most likely will fall far short of that, having raised perhaps $300,000 by March. Tennis pro Chris Evert has held a fund-raiser for Bono at his home, and campaign officials say they're planning more special events. Bono, however, says he can save between $2 million and $3 million from earlier spending projections because of his high name recognition. One poll last December showed he had 92 percent name recognition among people living in inland Southern California.

When Bono ran for mayor, he had such a hard time convincing the locals he wasn't joking that he held an extra press conference just to make sure. To avoid that this time, Bono took the advice of Republican U.S. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas and others by bringing in veteran political consultants Bill Lacy and Alex Castellanos and former Bush pollster Linda DiVall to run his campaign. Lacy is a veteran of the Reagan and Bush campaigns, and Castellanos has represented Dole, North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms and the Nicaraguan Contras.

In the 1990 Helms race, Castellanos produced a commercial accusing Helms' Democratic opponent, Harvey Gantt, of supporting racial hiring quotas, a charge Gantt denied. *The Press-Enterprise* of Riverside reported that Castellanos said the commercial could apply to Campbell, though Campbell denies supporting racial hiring quotas. A Campbell spokesman responded by accusing Castellanos of injecting racism into the campaign through the quota issue.

Lacy, the campaign manager, said his team is helping Bono become more comfortable talking about national issues but doesn't want to tinker with Bono's natural rapport with the voters. "He's sincere, he speaks from the heart and he clearly is interested in solving the country's problems," Lacy said.

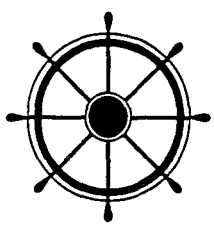
Bono's message has struck a harmonious chord with many audiences.

Maggie Stewart, a member of the San Bernardino County GOP Central Committee, recalled the generally warm reaction to Bono's speech before a group of 100 Republican women. "He's been sort of a surprise," she said. "I think there was a depth of sincerity that came across. He was very humble but not to the point where it became maudlin."

Bono, who wrote about his tumultuous relationship with Cher in his 1991 autobiography, "And The Beat Goes On," says he still answers questions about his life with Cher — up to a point.

"I don't mind talking about it as long as everybody knows I'm moving on," Bono says. "I want to be a senator. The joke's over for me."

Advertisement



Association Headquarters of California

WE HELP YOU MEET YOUR GOALS AND SERVE YOUR MEMBERS BY PROFICIENTLY MANAGING YOUR ORGANIZATION.

Skip Daum
President

2150 River Plaza Drive
Suite 315
Sacramento, CA 95833
(916) 927-1234
FAX (916) 927-4811

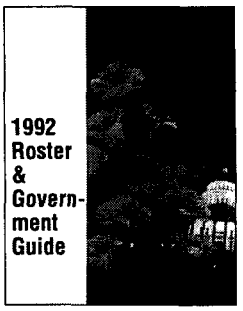
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

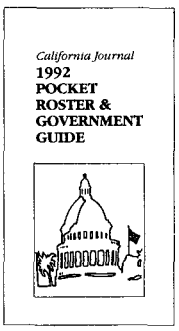
1992 ROSTER & GOVERNMENT GUIDE

California Journal's best-selling publication,

the **Roster and Government Guide** has been completely revised for 1992. The Roster is 8 1/2 x 11", 28 pages long and contains the name, address, telephone number, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and Congress plus Constitutional officers, state departments and boards. More than 170 photos are included of all elected and top appointed officials, plus the legislative process chart, legislative committee memberships and more. **Available Now**.



Price: 100 or more copies, 59 cents each; 50-99 copies, 99 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.75 each; 1 or 2 copies, $2.75 each. Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 shipping to all orders.



New for 1992

THE CALIFORNIA POCKET ROSTER

This handy 3 1/2" x 6" **Pocket Roster** makes it possible to carry a full state government information access system in your pocket or purse. The **Pocket Roster** contains everything in the Roster plus brief biographical information, district descriptions, joint, select and special committeees, offices and caucuses of the legislature, committees and much more. **Available Now**.

Prices:

1-4 copies	$9.95	25-49 copies	8.45
5-24 copies	8.95	50 + copies	7.95

Please add 7.75 % sales tax and 2.75 shipping to all orders.

Advertisement

CAMPAIGNING IN CALIFORNIA

1992 Edition

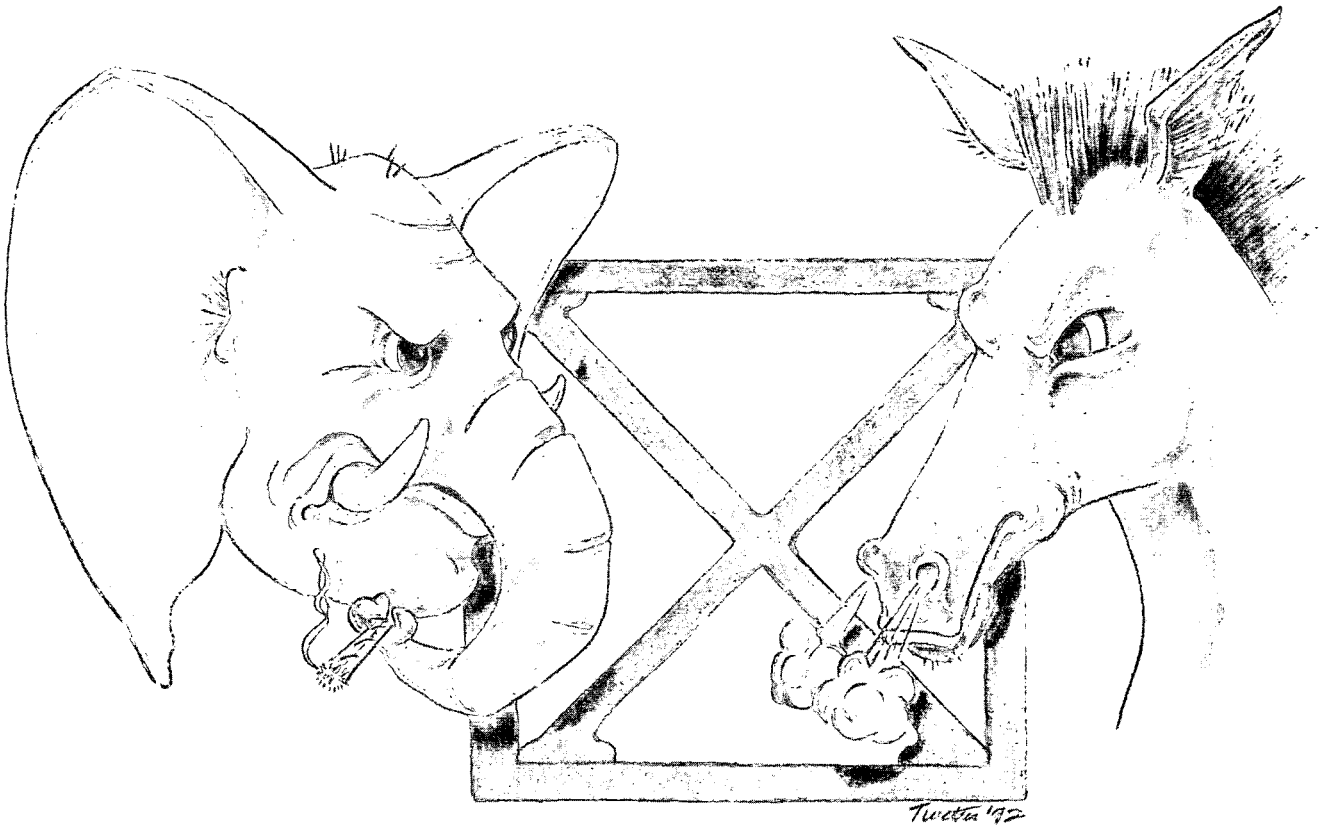
This seventh edition of the *California Journal's Campaigning in California: Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Disclosure Laws* is designed to help candidates, contributors, campaign consultants, committee treasurers and others cope with the complex rules of the political game.

The *Guide* walks through the maze of campaign laws, emphasizing what potential candidates and contributors may and may not do, and who must file which forms, and where and when the forms must be filed.

The guide was written by Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller & Naylor, California's largest and best-known political and government law firm.

Copies of this booklet can be purchased from *California Journal* at the following prices: 100 or more copies, 74 cents each; 50-99 copies, 99 cents each; 3-49 copies $1.95 each; 1-2 copies $2.75 each. Add 7.75 percent sales tax and $2.75 shipping to all orders. Orders must be pre-paid by check, money order or VISA or MasterCard. Send to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



art by Patty Lyn Tweten

Political parties back away from pre-primary endorsements

By Charles Price

Years of legal wrangling over whether California can prohibit political parties from endorsing candidates before primaries have not produced definitive answers. The issue still is clear as mud.

The most recent attempt to produce a pre-primary endorsement occurred earlier this year by President George Bush's California Republican operatives (including state Chairman James Dignan). Despite a rule adopted by the party not to give pre-primary endorsements, Bush's inner circle thought that a California GOP endorsement would give the president's campaign a critical lift after the New Hampshire primary and before Super Tuesday (the southern regional primary). Momentum was needed in the Bush campaign because of the surprisingly strong showing of Patrick Buchanan, a former TV talk host and former Nixon staffer, in New Hampshire (he received

Charles Price is a professor of political science at California State University, Chico, and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

37 percent of the vote to Bush's 53 percent).

But when the Bush campaign sought an endorsement at the state party convention, held in Burlingame in late February, it encountered embarrassing opposition. Changing the party rule required a two-thirds vote of the convention, and Buchanan supporters and GOP opponents of endorsing were strong enough to get Bush supporters to back down. Although a meaningless "straw vote" of delegates gave Bush an overwhelming margin, the president had been handed a setback.

While Republicans have decided they don't want to give pre-primary endorsements, Democrats, after giving pre-primary endorsements in 1988 and 1990, decided to forgo this practice in state legislative and congressional races in 1992. What's going on here?

Californians have been struggling with the issue since the turn of the century, when Progressive reformers swept into political power here and in other, mainly western states. In California, they were concerned about the domination of California government by special interests (in particular, Southern Pacific Railroad) and were appalled by the power wielded by party bosses and political machines. To cleanse California politics, Progressives promoted a host of political reforms which soon became part of the Elections Code and the Constitution. These included strict regulation of parties, the Australian secret ballot, the office block ballot, civil service (to discourage patronage appointments), non-partisan local elections, direct democracy (the initiative referendum and recall), cross-filing, and the direct primary. Smarting from these reforms, the California Republican and Democratic parties have never been as powerful as their counterpart organizations in the eastern half of the country.

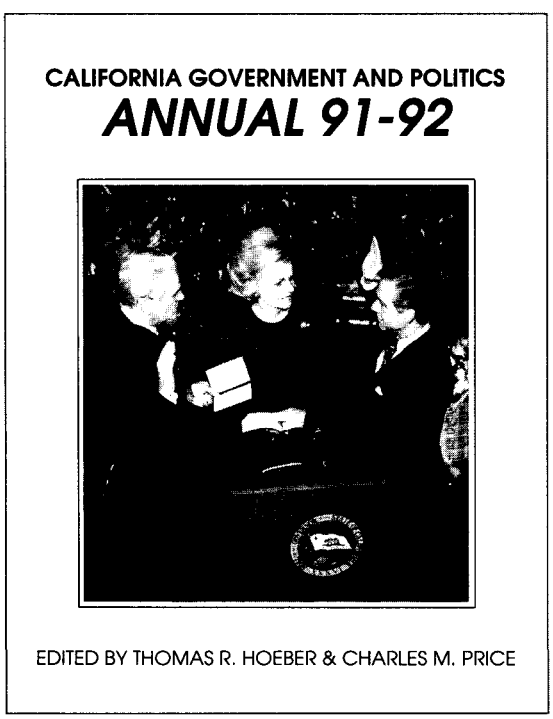
Progressives promoted the direct primary election so that rank-and-file voters, via the ballot box, could elect the party's nominee for a particular office rather than having politicians hand-pick their choices at party caucuses. Progressives also championed cross-filing to allow candidates of one party to run in the other party's primary to provide voters the widest latitude in voting choice. (This feature was eliminated in 1959).

Yet to this day, scores of party leaders, a growing number of political scientists and some media pundits believe that party leaders and not the voters should pick party nominees, particularly presidential candidates. In a recent article, NBC commentator John Chancellor wrote, "Primary elections and party caucuses should be abolished. ... The best reform would be to let party professionals and elected officials choose the party's standard-bearer for the fall campaign."

While the primary today is a feature in the nominating process of all 50 states, in many states party organizations designate their choices in the primary. Indeed, in Colorado, candidates running for office must receive at least 20 percent of the vote of local endorsing caucuses, or they may not file. Officially endorsed candidates not only are guaranteed a slot on the party slate-mailer, they also receive available campaign money and the grunt-work

Advertisement

California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1991-92



Now in its 22nd edition, *California Journal's* **California Government and Politics Annual** is the best selling book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1991-92 edition contains chapters on the three branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, the press, direct democracy, local government, current issues, and a new chapter on reapportionment. The 128-page, large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, a political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping & handling per order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help of party grass-roots activists. Moreover, given the importance of this endorsement, in some states unendorsed party candidates decide not to file or to withdraw from the race. Of course, efforts of party leaders to discourage primary competition undercuts the Progressive notion of a free and unfettered primary.

Because pre-primary endorsing was of dubious legal status, for most of this century statewide party organizations and county central committees seldom attempted to designate their choices in a contested primary in the state. Instead, endorsing was left to unofficial party groups such as the CRA (California Republican Assembly) or the CDC (California Democratic Council). Occasionally a Democratic or Republican activist county central committee might decide to endorse, but there were no formal rules or regulations on the subject, nor was it done systematically in the various races. To clarify matters, in 1963 the Legislature approved and the governor signed a bill prohibiting parties from endorsing in primaries. And, as legislative party leaders built power in the 1970s and 1980s through amassing immense campaign war chests which could be divvied out to their anointed choices, they were not enthusiastic about sharing this endorsing role with the party rank-and-file After all, locals might choose the "wrong" person.

For years, volunteer activists (particularly in the California Democratic Party) have argued that if party organizations were to be effective and taken seriously, they had to be allowed to designate their choices in the primary. Endorsing, they believed, would minimize the opportunites for extremists in party ranks -- say, a Ku Klux Klan-Republican or La Rouche-Democrat — from capturing the nomination and embarrassing the party. Candidates who had "paid their dues," been involved in local party activities and had developed friendships with local activists would be in the best position to be endorsed. Moreover, endorsing, it was argued, would provide grass-roots, party volunteers a more meaningful role to play than simply doing campaign drudgery work, such as walking precincts or stuffing envelopes. Endorsing, it was believed, would contribute to more vibrant, influential party organizations.

Not surprisingly, political parties in California historically have been less inclined to endorse in non-partisan races. In fact, the California Constitution stipulates that local elections are to be non-partisan, and many interpreted this to mean no party involvement. In addition, the state Election Code stipulates that nomination papers of those running for non-partisan office shall not "contain the name of any political party, or any signer thereto, nor shall the candidate be referred to as a candidate for the nomination of any party." However, on a few occasions over the last several decades, because of the legal confusion, a Democratic or Republican county central committee has endorsed in a local race. And, as the state Supreme Court became more politicized in the 1980s, California's Democratic and Republican parties became more entangled in supporting or opposing (unofficially) the 1986 confirmation elections of a liberal bloc of judges (justices Rose Bird, Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin). Interestingly, while several other states bar parties from making judicial endorsements, California is unique in prohibiting endorsing in local, non-partisan contests.

Some authorities argue that local issues — dog-leash laws, for example — tend to be non-partisan. Consequently, there is no need for parties to be mucking about backing local candidates. Others contend that local issues can frequently have a partisan overlay, such as a policy regarding the homeless. In any case, since many local officials move up the political ladder to run for the state Legislature or for Congress, some activists believe that endorsing for these offices is critical, too.

In 1979 Samuel Unger, a private citizen, filed a lawsuit against the Marin County Democratic Central Committe because it had endorsed a local school board candidate. Unger won. In 1984, however, the state Supreme Court rejected Unger's claims in a second suit (dubbed in the press Unger II), which he brought this time against California Republicans for their involvement in a recall campaign against Chief Justice Rose Bird. The California Supreme Court noted that a federal court had already ruled that parties could not be barred from giving partisan endorsements because that restricted their First Amendment rights of free speech. In addition, the Court argued, there was nothing in the state Constitution prohibiting parties from endorsing in non-partisan contests.

In response, in June 1986 the California Legislature passed and voters adopted Proposition 49, a constitutional amendment barring parties from endorsing candidates running for any non-partisan office — judicial, school board, city council or county supervisor. This amendment, in turn, was struck down in *Renne v. Geary* in the Ninth Federal Circuit Court in 1990. It subsequently was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In June 1991 a majority of the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case was not justiciable because it was not a live case, which in effect overturned, at least temporarily, the Ninth Circuit Court ruling. But it left the issue up in the air.

Because the U.S. Supreme Court has not ruled definitively whether states have the right to bar parties from endorsing in non-partisan races, the legal controversy continues. In October 1991 the Santa Clara County Democratic Central Committee ignored the state ban and voted to support two city council candidates, one in Sunnyvale and the other in Palo Alto. Local Democratic officials contended that the ban

Advertisement

Make the U.S.P.S. Move Faster

Speed your campaign's mail through their system by using the most up-to-date lists, formatted and sorted to their latest routes and codes

Below, Tobe & Associates was America's first political mailer to be U.S.P.S. CASS[1] certified, which assures the maximum postal discount.

Target Below, Tobe for your next label, list or personalized direct mailer. Nothing beats the Below, Tobe edge!

Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.

Applying computer technology to winning elections since 1971

Los Angeles Office
4745 Alla Rd.
Marina del Rey, CA 90292
310-306-1989

Washington, DC Office
801 N. Fairfax St. #211
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-684-3933

[1] Coding Accuracy Support System.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on their endorsing in local races was unconstitutional. However, both Democratic Party-endorsed candidates lost in their city council bids. Local Republicans were incensed over the Democrats' intrusion into the race. Don Minutillo, a Santa Clara Republican activist commented, "Boy, that's unbelievable. It's distressing. If it were [legally] possible for the Republicans to endorse in non-partisan races, we would do it." No legal action has yet been taken against Santa Clara Democrats.

In the fall of 1991 the San Francisco Peace and Freedom Party endorsed Gloria LaRiva, a mayoral candidate in the 1991 election, and the city attorney filed a lawsuit against the party for its violation of election law. In February 1992 oral arguments were heard in this case. There is a reasonable chance that *LaRiva v. Wong* will be appealed eventually to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Committee for Party Renewal (composed of Democratic activists, academics and several Republican and Libertarian officials), which brought a 1984 suit to challenge the state's endorsing ban, did so for three reasons: it was a free-speech violation in that all other political groups could endorse; it would provide parties more control over who runs under their banner (extremists could be dealt with more effectively); as a way of restoring party vitality by giving party activists a more significant role to play.

After their 1984 court victory, the Democratic Party's rules pommittee drafted a set of endorsing procedures and regulations which were incorporated into Party by-laws. To handle the endorsing, regional conferences composed of various Assembly district caucuses were established. Quorums were required at endorsing meetings, and proxy voting was not allowed. To be endorsed, a Democratic incumbent has to receive 50 percent plus one of the votes, while non-incumbents need 60 percent. Caucus participants also have the right to vote for no endorsement. And, unendorsed Democratic candidates are encouraged to withdraw from the race to encourage a unified effort on behalf of the endorsed candidate. Endorsement recommendations from local units are then submitted to the State Central Committee for final approval; thus far, no local unit recommendation has been rejected by the State Central Committee. The SCC also handles endorsements in statewide contests.

In 1988 all Democratic incumbents running for re-election were endorsed with one exception: state Senator Dan Boatwright lost the party endorsement to his Democratic challenger, Supervisor Sunne McPeak. (Boatwright had long been at odds with local Democratic leaders). Nevertheless, Boatwright went on to win the primary and later to defeat his Republican opponent in the general election.

In 1990 all Democratic legislative incumbents were endorsed by local endorsing caucuses. Perhaps the two most controversial endorsements of this election were in only two open statewide contests: the governor's and the newly established elected insurance commissioner's races. John Van de Kamp was the Democratic Party's endorsee for governor, but Dianne Feinstein beat him in the Democratic primary. So, too, in the insurance commissioner's race: the endorsed candidate, Bill Press, lost to his Democratic opponent, John Garamendi, in the primary.

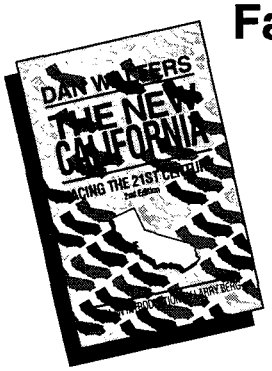
Obviously, if party endorsees lose regularly in the primary, the endorsement becomes meaningless if not counterproductive. As Olive Lewis, former executive director of the state Democratic Party, noted, "If you're going to endorse, you've got to be able to deliver something beyond just a stamp of approval. You have to be able to deliver campaign funds and party workers to those who are endorsed."

Thus far, 1988-1990 Democratic endorsements have had little impact on elected party officeholders since nearly all were endorsed. And in open statewide races, the party failed to elect its anointed in the primary. Moreover, no unendorsed Democratic candidates withdrew from the race when they failed to receive the nomination. Indeed, when asked whether non-endorsed Democratic candidates should withdraw, Bob Mulholland, political director of the Democratic Party, said, "Is that what our by-laws say? That's ridiculous!" Executive member and legislative staffer Teri Burns said that greater efforts will probably be made in future years to get unendorsed Democratic

Advertisement

NEW NEW NEW NEW NE

The New California
Facing the 21st Century
2nd Edition
by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Larry Berg



The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, has updated his best-selling book to reflect the 1990 census data. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful book has become a basic reference on California since its publication in 1987. Now 240 pages long, this book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $11.95.

California Journal Press • 1714 Capitol Ave. • Sacramento CA • 916/444-2840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

candidates to withdraw.

Since attaining the legal right to endorse, California Republicans have opted not to endorse GOP candidates. Republican leaders fear that endorsing might be divisive and could lead to rigged meetings and "smoke-filled room" decision-making. Moreover, if party endorsing were to be adopted, there could be conflict between Republican legislative leaders (who have at times given endorsements) and local GOP activists over which Republican candidate in a primary should be supported. While some GOP activists are disgruntled by the endorsing ban, for the most part, party stalwarts seem content with it.

The executive committee of the Democratic Party felt that given all of the logistical problems with the drastically revised, incumbent-neutral districts the state Supreme Court drew for the 1992 reapportionment, attempting to hastily organize for endorsing would have been chaotic. In addition, there were seven new House seats to be factored in. Moreover, the term limits mandated by Proposition 140 have encouraged many legislators to retire. Thus, because of all of these complicating factors, the Democratic executive committee decided endorsing should be deferred for this year. As state Democratic Chairman Phil Angelides put it, "We have decided to concentrate all of our time and energy on the general election rather than endorsing in the primary."

Kathy Lynch, a long-time party activist and member of the rules committee which drafted the endorsing provisions, commented, "If all the [district] lines had been determined by September 1991, endorsing would have been possible." But since district lines weren't finalized until late January 1992, candidates had to delay filing decisions. "It would have taken a monumental effort of party staff to get the regional caucuses established; the window of opportunity was too short."

Those who drafted the endorsing provisions never envisioned the massive problems that could accompany reapportionment, according to Lynch. "When the court ruled in favor of pre-primary endorsing, [it] stipulated the process must be orderly," Lynch said. A substantial majority of the party's executive committee concluded this would be impossible with the 1991 reapportionment. Lynch noted there was another concern among committee members. "Endorsing might have violated the spirit of the Voting Rights Act," she said. "Some white male incumbent Democrats had been reapportioned into new districts with sizable minority populations. Endorsing caucuses would probably have favored incumbents to the disadvantage of aspiring minority candidates."

Proponents of endorsing on the executive committee argued endorsing would discourage entrepreneurial slate makers from profiting in the vacuum. Burns commented that some board members favored endorsing because of all the new Democratic candidates running in the redesigned districts. Party registrants needed the help. However, the predominant mood among executive committee members was: this isn't the year.

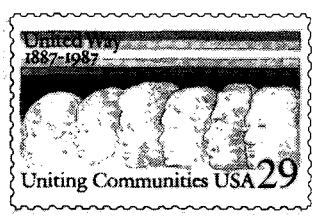
Sacramento Bee political columnist Dan Walters viewed the decision by state Democrats to forgo endorsing as a "retreat from democracy," and speculated that the "temporary" ban might well become permanent. "One experience with participatory democracy apparently was more than enough for the grandees of the California Democratic Party," wrote Walters.

Angelides, however, stated unequivocally, "The party declared its intention to return to pre-primary endorsements in 1994, and may still choose to endorse for the two U.S. Senate seats that are also up for election this year."

Walters hypothesized that Democrats decided not to endorse in 1992 because some of their incumbents might face stiff opposition from Democratic challengers in the new districts and didn't want to risk local party groups endorsing their opponent. Lynch disagreed. She stated that many of those favoring deferring endorsing in 1992 were *not* professional politicians. "Many Democratic legislators wanted to have endorsements [in 1992] so that local party groups could give them their stamp of approval."

In future years, the main impact of Democratic endorsing probably will not be at the state level where money and media are the critical factors. Rather, the endorsing impact will be felt most profoundly in House, state Senate and Assembly contests in *open* districts with sufficient Democratic registration to make them potentially able to be won or in districts where particular Republican incumbents are vulnerable. In these districts local party activists can provide legislative candidates important help. For example, in 1990 in the 4th Senate District, two Democrats — Mike Thompson and Charlie Cochran — sensing state Senator Jim Nielsen's political vulnerability, filed for the Democratic nomination. Both went before the local endorsing caucus seeking its support. Realizing he had few votes in the endorsing caucus, Cochran urged members to make *no* endorsement and remain neutral. Instead, the caucus overwhelmingly endorsed Thompson. Mike Thompson said that local party people were very helpful in his race, assisting in the myriad activities of the campaign. With Proposition 140's term limits looming, the likelihood is that in future years there will be dozens of open districts. For new Democratic legislative candidates, having the support of the local party organization could be a real plus.

Advertisement



Targeted Direct Mail Wins Elections

Individual, targeted messages are a key to campaign victory.

Below, Tobe & Associates is America's foremost voter database specialist and has been at the forefront of individualized targeting since 1971.

Target Below, Tobe for your next label, list or personalized direct mailer. Nothing beats the Below, Tobe edge!

Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.
Applying computer technology to winning elections since 1971

Los Angeles Office
4745 Alla Rd.
Marina del Rey, CA 90292
310-306-1989

Washington, DC Office
801 N. Fairfax St. #211
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-684-3933

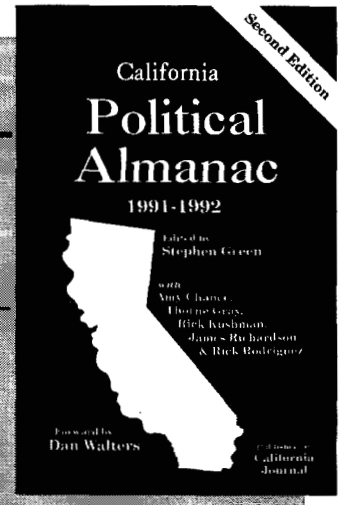
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

Election 92's Vital Reference

"Tackles most of what a newcomer would want to know about political life in California ... By the end, a reader may not know the state by heart but he'll at least be able to sing along."

— *Governing* magazine



Every reader becomes a political insider with this candid analysis of California's political leaders written by Sacramento's most knowledgeable journalists.

The 1991-92 *California Political Almanac* contains biographies, photographs, voting records and district descriptions for every member of the state Senate, Assembly and Congress, as well as for every constitutional office. The *Almanac* also includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and much more: over 500 pages of data and analysis.

California Political Almanac:
$34.95
plus 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping and handling.

Please send your orders to:
California Journal
1714 Capitol Avenue • Sacramento California • 95814

Advertisement

Completely revised for 1992!

50-State Legislative Directory

The 50-State Legislative Directory provides a quick way to identify the key players in state policy making. It comes in a looseleaf binder with over 400 8 1/2" x 11" pages. The list of members and the binder are being mailed now; the committees will be shipped in April.

Contains:

Names, district and capital addresses, party affiliation of all Legislators; name, address, members and partisan breakdown of all Committees; frequently called phone numbers.

ORDER FORM

❑ **1992 Edition, $95.00**
includes binder and tabs.

Name _____

_____

Organization _____

Address _____

Zip _____

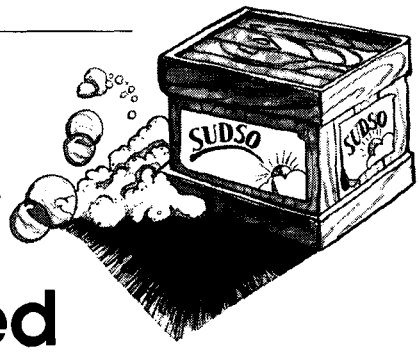
Telephone# _____

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus $2.75 handling to all orders.
Send your check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. For more information call 916/444-2840.

CJ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOAPBOX



On being informed

By Richard Hoefer and Alexandra Paul

Do newspapers in America keep us adequately abreast of how our politicians are voting? Did your newspaper tell you how your representatives voted on such important matters as the Search and Seizure Amendment to HR 7321 (which allows the use of evidence obtained without a warrant), AB 101 or the 1991 Civil Rights Bill? What about the other 723 bills voted on in the first session of the 102nd Congress?

The answer to these questions is "probably not" if the *Los Angeles Times*, our local paper (and the nation's third largest) is any indication of the rest of the country's dailies. Your paper *may* have reported whether the more important measures passed or failed, but most likely it did not print how your own representatives voted on those measures. Why?

We are two citizens who, during the last California gubernatorial election, sought to find information on the candidates' voting records so we could make a more informed choice in voting. We were amazed to find that this information was not accessible. It certainly wasn't in the *Times*. It wasn't even in the library. Our resulting frustration prompted us to take action to research and remedy this problem.

For the past year we've spoken to editors, political writers and graphic experts all over the country to help us develop a newspaper feature which would inform citizens better at election time, give them a tool to participate in their democracy year-round and hold their elected officials accountable. We call this feature "The Day in Government" and are now submitting a mock-up of the idea to news editors and syndicators nationwide with the hope that they implement such a feature in time for the November election.

Similar to a newspaper's daily sports scorecard, "The Day in Government" would provide, in a graphic format, voting results, upcoming legislation, and other information on governmental bodies at the national, state and local level. The feature would run six days a week, with each day focusing on a particular body of government. For example, Mondays would cover the U.S. Senate and House; Tuesdays, the executive/federal/state administrative agencies; Wednesdays, the state Legislature; Thursdays, the city and county government; Fridays, the judiciary; and Sunday, a "Week in Review" which recaps the week's most significant items for those who only subscribe to the Sunday paper.

Each day would include, in an easy-to-read graphic layout, breakdowns of "votes recently taken" (focusing on the representatives in your community); listings of "upcoming legislation" soon to be voted on; a "follow-up," which traces how well a past bill was eventually implemented; and a "reporter's notebook," which provides explanation and analysis to a significant piece of legislation. In addition, representatives' phone numbers and addresses would be listed so that citizens could easily let an elected official know how they'd like that representative to vote on an upcoming measure.

"The Day in Government," were it to run as a regular feature nationwide, would provide Americans with an unprecedented opportunity to put our representative democracy into action. Although you might not read this feature every single day, you'd come to know it was there, and when an issue came up that especially affected you, you'd know where to go to find out how your representative voted. Over the course of the year, readers would have a better idea of what their government is getting done and would have a better basis for voicing approval or disapproval not only at election time but throughout the year.

At election time these daily listings would provide the database from which a news editor could compile a chart comparing various candidates' voting records on a wide array of issues — from the environmental, to education to economics. Think, then, how well you'd be in a position to assess the merits of a candidate's statements if he or she were to say, "I am an environmental candidate;" or, "Education will be my priority." For perhaps the first time, a large number of average voters, not connected with any special-interest group, would

Alexandra Paul is an actress and Richard Hoefer is a screenwriter. Both are active politically. They live in Los Angeles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be able to say, "That's not how you felt when you voted against issue 'x' on five different occasions over the course of the last two years." Think then how a candidate might have to adjust his campaign to start speaking full truths instead of whatever might get voters to believe the positions he or she would like them to believe at the moment.

All citizens, at heart, want to make informed choices at election time. Many don't, however, because they are bombarded by manipulative messages and don't know where to get objective information. So they often throw up their hands and pick the least objectionable candidate. Or they just don't vote at all. In the last presidential election, a dismal 51 percent of eligible Americans cast a vote.

One response to this might be to chastise American voters (and non-voters) for being lazy and unappreciative of our democratic system. Maybe that's fair, but a more useful response would be to make it easier to get the information one needs to make informed choices. And we believe one of the best ways to do this is to print voting records in the paper year-round.

Why aren't papers already providing this information? After all, if a news-paper's function is to inform the citizenry in an unbiased manner on matters of importance, shouldn't they cover what goes on in government as diligently as they cover sports or the stock market? When we submitted our idea to the *Times*, they claimed that the paper already prints enough voting information within its stories. This isn't the case based on our tracking of the paper for over six months. For example, from October 15-25, 1991, when the U.S. Congress voted on 51 measures, the *Times* only twice printed how California's lawmakers voted: once during the Senate's October 16th confirmation vote on Clarence Thomas and an obscure mention that Senator John Seymour voted against a jobless aid measure on October 17th. But there was no coverage of how our representatives voted on the Omnibus Crime Bill (October 23rd) and the Civil Rights Act of 1991 (October 25th) — two major pieces of legislation.

Obviously, not all bills from all houses and agencies can or should be reported, but a good editor could easily choose which ones to include. Since what's significant to one person may not be significant to another, it's important to have a wide range of bills covered.

So if voting records are not in our newspapers, where does one go to get them? *Roll Call Reports* tracks national votes for $200 a year, or you could read the *Congressional Quarterly, Daily Journal, Daily History* or *Insight* Magazine. If you've got a computer, you could subscribe to an on-line service such as LegiTech or StateNet (owned by the publishers of *California Journal*). You could also call the offices of each of your senators, Congress persons and Assembly persons on a regular basis to get an update, but is it really right that we should have to work so hard to get information that should be readily available? Who is in a better position to provide this information than newspapers? They subscribe to these services, they've already got the reporters covering the political beat.

Tracking the votes of our legislators is not glamorous, and not all readers will be interested. But some will be, and if the feature runs regularly it could develop a larger constituency of readers who never thought they'd be interested until they saw it was there. Who knew that billboarding the contents of each newspaper section would become such a useful feature until *USA Today* had success with it.

In a time of shrinking readership, shrinking budgets and a shrinking news hole, many newspapers are wary of adding new features. But in our sample mock-up, one-half page was all that was needed to present the information. If the *Times* finds space for a full page everyday on weather patterns and projections, couldn't it find a space for a voting boxscore and information on some upcoming bills? Isn't this as important as Ann Landers, the comics, the Dow Jones, or an entire sports section?

A report by the Kettering Foundation this past year concluded that Americans aren't necessarily apathetic about politics and government, they just feel shut out of the process; once their vote is cast, they feel they don't have any real means of impacting policy-making by their representatives. As a result they are frustrated. The United States, the most successful democracy on earth, needs an injection of new life to stave off growing disillusionment, especially among the younger generation, about our political system.

Printing information every day about how our representatives are voting will help make what goes on in Sacramento and in Washington, DC, less mysterious and intimidating, thus drawing citizens into the process and empowering them to take a more active role in our democracy. If politicians had to face the scrutiny of their constituents all year round, we as citizens may just feel empowered enough to demand more accountability and when we don't get it, let our disapproval be known at the ballot box. Printing voting records could become a direct means to help restore some faith in the governmental processes.

Advertisement

Master
The Name Game
with

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
Newsfile

The monthly newsletter for Capitol Insiders

Published and edited by the same people who bring you *California Journal*, **NEWSFILE** compiles information vital to tracking the people who run state government. **NEWSFILE**'s monthly features include:

- ✔ Gubernatorial appointments
- ✔ Lobbyist registrations and terminations
- ✔ Legislative committee changes
- ✔ PAC registrations
- ✔ Lists of state government reports
- ✔ Calendar

This hard-to-obtain information is mailed to you, First Class, 12 times a year for only $55. Please add 7.75% sales tax.

If you would like to receive a free examination copy without obligation, just call 916/444-2840 or write **NEWSFILE**, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carl Covitz: the businessman as a public servant

By Caren Bohan

photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Carl Covitz bristles when he talks about the California clean-air regulations that force McDonnell-Douglas to ferry planes to Nevada to have them painted. "How can you expect them to expand in California when they can't even paint their planes here?" Covitz demands.

Covitz — California's secretary of Business, Transportation and Housing (BTH) — admits that he's no expert on clean-air standards, but he insists there's a way to eliminate an expensive hassle for McDonnell-Douglas without incurring the wrath of environmental regulators.

"If I were able to bring together all of the parties involved," he insists, "I'm convinced we'd be able to come up with a solution."

That, in a nutshell, is Carl Covitz' charm, and his problem. Given his druthers, he'd have his public agency — or, for that matter, the entire state — run like a corporate board, Manhattan-style: closed, clubby and uncluttered by pesky details like unbalanced budgets and the separation of powers.

But his agency is a sprawling octopus of a place, one of six mega-

---

Caren Bohan is a writer for California News Service, a program of the University of California, Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agencies created in the past 25 years. In theory, Covitz oversees departments as diverse as CalTrans, Housing and Community Development, Commerce and the California Highway Patrol. In practice, however, those departments are semi-autonomous fiefdoms where power is jealously guarded and turf wars are common. In some respects, the job of agency secretary has been reduced over the years to cheerleading for business — a role that increasingly may be more important given the bleak long-term outlook for California's economy.

Since his appointment less than a year ago, Covitz has attacked his task with zeal. He criss-crosses the state, sometimes several times a week, visiting local chambers of commerce, trade associations and other business groups and promising that he will make California more attractive to firms that are finding and seeking greener pastures elsewhere. "Business is welcome in California," he tells them.

Covitz boasts of grand plans for encouraging business development that go beyond mere boosterism, however, and admirers say he's got the brains to carry them out. But thus far, the Wilson administration hasn't gone public with much beyond slogans, and Covitz has preached an uncomplicated Republican gospel: "less taxes" and "streamline the regulations."

Preaching against the bureaucracy is second nature to Covitz. The 52-year-old multi-millionaire earned his corporate stripes at Bristol Myers and Canada Dry, and he built his fortune battling local zoning boards as president of a Beverly Hills-based development company — Landmark Communities. But as head of a state agency that oversees 14 departments and 38,000 employees, he now *is* the bureaucracy. The challenge, he says, is finding ways to work within the system.

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 384,973 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 615,958. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. To qualify for the November 1992 ballot, it is suggested that signatures be submitted by April 17, 1992. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the Secretary of State's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.*

New in circulation:

REASONABLE ATTORNEY'S FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Norman Bedford of Healdsburg, that reads, in its entirety, "Prevailing party in all civil law cases shall, as part of the judgement, be awarded reasonable attorney's fees." (July 13th)

AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton and GOP state Senator Frank Hill of Whittier, that mandates no-fault insurance for "non-serious" accidents, covering defined medical expenses, lost earnings and other expenses. It proposes a maximum "good driver" premium of $220 to July 1, 1993, and $300 to January 1, 1995. Thereafter, the premium would be approved by the insurance commissioner. The plan would constitute financial responsiblity for the insured and any disputes would be resolved by arbitration or conciliation. The measure also restricts injury compensation to: $15,000 per person, $30,000 per accident, and $5000 for property damage to others. It would also exclude non-economic loss, "serious injuries," motorcycles and defined vehicles. "Serious injuries" would be compensated through the current fault-determination procedures. (July 17th)

EDUCATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by GOP Assemblyman Nolan Frizzelle of Fountain Valley, that provides that state school funding be apportioned by county offices of education pursuant to a stated formula and scheduled. The funding would be based on enrolled students, as defined, rather than the monthly, per-student in average daily attendance, as the Legislature provides. The measure also authorizes full power of organization and government to local school authorities with stated contractual, teacher certification limitations, and prohibits restrictions on how districts may spend apportioned funds. Other provisions modify board-member qualifications and dates of election for school districts, community college districts and county education offices and modify the duties of the state Superintendent of Public Instruction and State Board of Education members. (July 27th)

Continuing in circulation:

EXECUTIONS — an initiative statute sponsored by Thomas Hall of Burbank (March 13th; December 1991 *CJ*)

DEATH PENALTY. PUBLIC EXECUTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment and companion measure the "Executions," also sponsored by Thomas Hall of Burbank. (March 13th; December 1991 *CJ*)

FIREARMS OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield and Bernadine Smith. (March 20th; December 1991 *CJ*)

TAXATION OF FOOD PRODUCTS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Dick Floyd of Gardena. (March 30th; December 1991 *CJ*)

HEALTH CARE PLAN — an initiative statute, sponsored by Michael Weinstein of Los Angeles. (May 1st, January 1992 *CJ*)

HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION, SEXUAL ORIENTATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Nancy Otto of San Francisco. (May 4th, January 1992 *CJ*)

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. SEXUAL ORIENTATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Matthew Coles of Berkeley. (May 4th, January 1992 *CJ*)

TERM LIMITS. BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Proposition 140 guru Pete Schabarum of Los Angeles. This is one of three Schabarum-sponsored initiatives dealing with various term limits currently in circulation. (May 5th; February 1992 *CJ*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Covitz isn't a neophyte when it comes to government. He spent three years in Washington during the Reagan administration as undersecretary to Samuel Pierce in the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. It was hardly a high-profile job, but in some ways that has proven advantageous. Covitz left the department in 1989, unscathed by the embarrassing scandals and congressional investigations that ensnared Pierce and other senior HUD officials after George Bush became president and Jack Kemp took over the agency.

In Sacramento, Covitz has had to learn anew that the wheels of government are slow and squeaky, and he acknowledges that it has taken some adjustment on his part. At the same time, Sacramento has had some trouble adjusting to him.

Earlier this fall, Covitz' decidedly non-populist habits raised eyebrows at the state Capitol. His penchant for hiring drivers, having his lunch served by staff — reputedly on fine china — and using the California Highway Patrol to shuttle him back and forth to the airport earned him nicknames such as "Hollywood Carl" and "California's Sununu." His aides call him "Mr. Secretary," a Washington, DC, affectation that does not sit well in Sacramento.

One other habit did not sit well, either: his continued attention to his own company. Covitz was reported to have had his telephone calls for Landmark Communities rolled over to his office in BTH. Aides say the calls were personal and not related to his company, and Covitz makes a point of telling reporters that his business partner now runs Landmark.

Gossip about Covitz' Washington airs earned him weeks of publicity in the daily press, where agency heads are not frequently front-page news. So it was hardly surprising that by the time the BTH secretary faced Senate confirmation

CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS — the second of three initiative constitutional amendments sponsored by Pete Schabarum. (May 5th; February 1992 *CJ*)

CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES. LIMITATIONS — the third initiative constitutional amendment from Pete Schabarum. (May 5th; February 1992 *CJ*)

STATE BAR. ELECTED COMMISSIONER. ATTORNEYS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ronald Price of Tustin. (May 18th; February 1992 *CJ*)

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' RETIREMENT SYSTEMS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Ted Costa and Cliff Haskell of Sacramento. (May 18th; February 1992 *CJ*)

LIMITATION ON FEES FOR STATE PARKS. ENVIRONMENTAL LICENSE PLATE FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Mark Massara of San Francisco and Glen Spain of Comptche. (May 21st; February 1992 *CJ*)

BALANCED BUDGET. TAXES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Lisa Hughes of Coto de Caza. (June 1st; February 1992 *CJ*)

SALES TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles. (June 1st; February 1992 *CJ*)

TAXES. REFERENDUM — an initiative referendum, sponsored by Chris Fellerson of Elk Grove. (June 1st; February 1992 *CJ*)

GRAFFITI. GANG PREVENTION. SALES TAX — an initiative statute sponsored by Richard Spees of Oakland, Ernie Kell of Long Beach and Ellen Poll of Santa Monica. (May 26th, March 1992 *CJ*)

EDUCATION. PARENTAL CHOICE. SCHOLARSHIPS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Joseph Alibrandi of Los Angeles. (May 28th, March 1992 *CJ*)

EXPERIMENTAL GAMING PROGRAM. COMMISSION — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by John Brown of Oxnard and Robert Wilson of Studio City. (June 8th, March 1992 *CJ*)

WELFARE. BUDGET PROCESS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Governor Pete Wilson. (June 11th, March 1992 *CJ*)

WATERSHED AND FOREST PRACTICES — an initiative statute sponsored by Glen Spain of Comptche, Cecelia Lanman of Redway and Gary ball of Talmage. (June 15th, March 1992 *CJ*)

STATE HEALTH CARE PLAN — an initiative statute sponsored by Michael Weinstein of Los Angeles. (June 19th, March 1992 *CJ*)

MINORS. DRIVING AND ALCOHOL — an initiative statute sponsored by Carla Lowe of Carmichael. (June 22nd, March 1992 *CJ*)

ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION — an initiative statute sponsored by Republican state Senator Frank Hill of Whittier and Stanley Diamond of San Francisco. (June 26th, March 1992 *CJ*)

TERM LIMITS. U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND U.S. SENATE — two nearly identical initiatives — a constitutional amendment and a statute — sponsored by Anita Anderson of San Francisco. (June 29th, March 1992 *CJ*)

Petitions submitted for verification:

TERMINAL ILLNESS. ASSISTANCE IN DYING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Risley of Pasadena and Allan Briney of Whittier. (November 1991 *CJ*)

Failed to qualify:

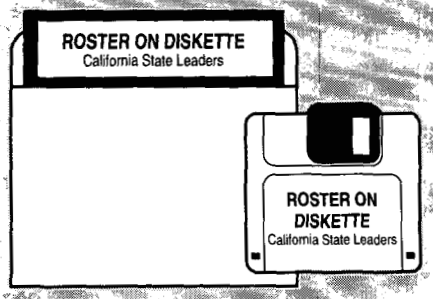
INITIATIVE. REFERENDUM. CITY, CITY AND COUNTY CHARTER — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Gann of Sacramento. (October 1991 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

1992 Roster on Diskette



Roster on Diskette is an up-to-date, computer-readable list of all key state officials. Included are senators, Assembly members and representatives in Congress with Capitol and district addresses, telephone numbers and staff; departments and boards of the state executive branch, legislative committees; and constitutional offices.

Roster on Diskette makes it possible for you to create personalized mailings and lists and directories of your own design without the headache of entering the data yourself.

Files on *Roster on Diskette* serve as data files for your own programs. Three formats for IBM-compatibles are available on 5 1/4" or 3 1/2" diskettes: dBase, Word Perfect, or Wordstar (this ASCII delimited format also works with PFS, PC-Write and many other programs).

***Roster on Diskette* is updated all year long. You can get the latest update for $5.00 anytime for a year after purchase.**

To place your order send $49.00 plus 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 handling to:

California Journal
Diskette
1714 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95814

Be sure to specify
data format and diskette size.

hearings in September 1991, nine months after his appointment, Senator Quentin Kopp, an independent from South San Francisco, and a band of irate Senate Democrats had their ammunition ready.

Kopp produced a log that showed Covitz had requested 53 rides from the CHP. Democrat Bill Lockyer of Hayward called Covitz to task for his support of private toll roads, and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Los Angeles cross-examined him about his involvement in the HUD scandal.

For all the hubbub, Covitz emerged with a unanimous confirmation vote and returned to the bureaucratic obscurity in which he seems to operate most effectively. He says he gets on well with reporters now, but there are traces of bitterness when he discusses the hearings and the "biased press coverage." As an example, he cites newspaper stories reporting that he was chauffeured around Washington when he traveled there in 1991 to lobby for passage of federal highway legislation that provides $15 billion dollars for California. Covitz says he hired a car and driver so that he could accomplish all that he had to get done in a short time period.

"Nobody mentioned that I paid for the car myself," he complains. "Thank you, Mr. Covitz for helping the voters of California." (Several daily newspapers did in fact quote Covitz as saying he paid for the car himself.)

Covitz also defends his use of the CHP for rides to and from the airport as a necessity of his job. "My style is to go out and observe the departments and how they run — to better create policy for them. It allows me to do my job," he explains.

And as for demeanor Senator Kopp described as "the style of the *noblesse oblige*," Covitz offers no apologies: "My style is my style. I've succeeded with that style."

In the realm in which Covitz operates, that may be true. "Covitz has a lot of personal flair and that works well with business," says his special assistant, John Pimentel.

Douglas Jeffe, executive vice president for Braun Ketchum, a public relations firm, says the secretary has been the victim of California-style provincialism.

"He moves in the fast lane more than a typical bureaucratic professional," says Jeffe, who knows Covitz through Southern California business circles. "He operates like a CEO. The ways he's used to in business and in Washington, D.C., may be a little different for people used to the folkways of Sacramento."

On the other hand, Covitz seems to enjoy describing himself as a product of the California dream. "I built a business after arriving in California with no job, and my wife was pregnant."

The description conjures an Oklahoma farmer and his family migrating from the dust bowl during the Depression. But Covitz, articulate and immaculately tailored, is no Tom Joad. He came to California by way of the Wharton School of Finance.

The son of a surgeon, Covitz grew up in the sophisticated affluence of Brookline, Massachusetts. "When I was growing up, the option was to either become a doctor or go into business. I chose business because I felt I could contribute something."

That's about as personal as Covitz is willing to get. Asked why he chose business, he responds with a baffled expres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion and a recitation of his resume: the bachelor's degree from Wharton; the MBA from Columbia; the rise through the hierarchy at four different multinationals, including ITT, before heading west to form his own business.

"It's something very different for someone my age to take on public service," he says, his slight accent betraying more of Manhattan than Massachusetts. "It's a significant financial sacrifice." And no, he insists, he has no political aspirations. "I don't consider myself involved in the political scene. I'm a manager and an administrator."

There is nothing in Covitz' sparsely decorated office that reveals his grand plans for California or his reputed taste for the high life. (The much-discussed "luncheon china" is actually a sturdy microwave-safe glass plate and drinking glass kept in a passageway between his office and that of his undersecretary, Del Pierce.) Large-framed photographs of California's bridges — a bequest from a previous occupant — line the walls. The only personal touch is a photograph of his family, which sits on his desk near the telephone. A small stack of papers is piled neatly to one side.

Covitz pulls an oversized black briefcase, like the kind traveling salesmen carry, from beside the desk and explains that he packs heavy reading material inside, taking it home every weekend to study the issue briefs on his boat at Newport Beach.

Pimentel says that Covitz is a demanding boss who often works until 9 or 10 p.m. "He's the kind of Type A personality who makes decisions and wants the information on hand quickly," Pimentel says.

For the moment, Covitz' top policy priority is to respond to business complaints about environmental regulations. He has been meeting regularly with James Strock, head of the California Environmental Protection Agency, to discuss ways of creating what he describes as a "one-stop shopping" permitting process. Covitz, who calls himself the "voice of reason for business," declines to elaborate on what changes in regulations that would involve. The message, he says, is compromise.

"I certainly want my children to be able to breathe clean air, but we have to ask ourselves, 'At what cost?' It's not always an absolute dollar determination."

Environmental groups say they are willing to explore ways to streamline regulatory and permitting processes only if a consensus can be reached with lawmakers and with the Wilson administration on plans to set aside large areas of land for conservation. But James Knox, director of urban affairs for the California Planning and Conservation League, says that kind of a bargain will be difficult, if not impossible, to strike. In the meantime, he warns, voters will not sit still for any attempt to weaken environmental regulations.

"Environmental regulations are often a convenient scapegoat when business isn't doing well, but there's scant evidence to prove that," Knox says, dismissing Covitz' notion that clean-air regulations would be the culprit if McDonnell-Douglas decided not to expand in California. "I hope he's not blaming environmental regulations for the decline of the aeronautics industry."

Covitz concedes that overhauling environmental regulations won't solve all of California's economic problems. Business, he says, is going to have to do some of the work itself by redirecting its energies. He suggests that aerospace companies feeling the pinch of federal defense cuts turn their

Advertisement

after YEAR

after YEAR

Woodward & McDowell does what it does best...

WIN

"Between 1971 and 1990, W & M achieved a remarkable 90 percent win ratio (ballot measures)."

California Journal
September, 1991

WOODWARD & McDOWELL

- Statewide and Local Issue Campaigns
- Public Opinion Research and Message Development
- News Media Relations
- Speakers Training
- Grassroots Legislative Support
- Coalition Building and Public Education
- Advertising and Video Production

Burlingame, CA
(415) 340-0470

Los Angeles, CA
(310) 445-8885

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

California Journal SEMINARS

More than 4000 people from all over California have taken advantage of our seminars.

That's a lot of advantage. For them.

PROGRAMS

- ✔ How laws are made
- ✔ State budget process
- ✔ Rules and Regulations
- ✔ Bill tracking and analysis
- ✔ Committee procedure and the art of testifying
- ✔ Advocacy — strategies, do's and don'ts, insights from the professionals
- ✔ Bill analysis workshop
- ✔ Congressional Procedure

SCHEDULE

APRIL

April 1	Bill Analysis Workshop	Sacramento
April 9	Demystifying the Legislative Process	Sacramento
April 10	Committee Procedure and Protocol	Sacramento
April 23	Bill Tracking and Analysis	Sacramento
April 24	Rules and Regulations	Sacramento

May

May 6	Bill Analysis Workshop	Sacramento
May 15	SPECIAL PROGRAM: California Small Business Issues/Advocacy/Future	Sacramento

June

(Mark your calendar)

June 4	Election Post-Mortem	Sacramento

New

On-site training

Now you can schedule training on any of the above topics customized for individuals in your own workplace. Let us work with you to prepare an agenda and schedule that suit your specific needs.

SAVE TIME SAVE MONEY

For ADDITIONAL INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list, please contact ROD TUTTLE at 916/444-2840, EXT 36

attention to developing a marketable electric car.

Covitz also sees a free-market solution to California's grid-locked freeways. Under former Governor George Deukmejian, the state established contracts with private companies to build four demonstration toll roads, and Covitz says he intends to promote more of such ventures.

But his plans will face fervent opposition from Democratic legislators, including Lockyer, who are angry at the Deukmejian administration for reneging on a pledge that no state transportation funds be used to subsidize the demonstration projects. Lockyer says he fears toll roads will lead to a two-tier highway system in which the wealthy will use toll

> "I certainly want my children to be able to breathe clean air, but we have to ask ourselves, 'At what cost?' It's not always an absolute dollar determination."

roads and those who cannot afford the tolls will drive on public roads. Because the toll roads will generate revenue and will be less travelled upon than the public roads, Lockyer says they will be better maintained.

"People like Mr. Covitz will drive their Mercedes on the nice road because they can afford it, while the rest of us dodge the potholes," Lockyer charges.

But Covitz says private freeways will benefit all drivers, even those who choose not to use them. "Other drivers will benefit because the toll roads will relieve congestion."

Covitz says rail is another part of the solution to California's transportation problems, and here, too, he sees a role for the state's aerospace industry. It should take the lead, he says, in developing new technology for the several billion dollars worth of mass-transit projects planned for California in the next decade.

So far, Japan has been expected to provide the technology for several planned high-speed rail projects, but Covitz says it's time for local companies to step forward.

"There's an opportunity here," he says. As BTH secretary, Covitz is in charge of the governmental implementation of Propositions 116 and 108, the transportation bond issues approved by voters in 1990. But Senator Kopp, chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee, says he is unimpressed with what the secretary has done so far and he worries that transportation has taken a back seat to other issues in Covitz' office. Kopp says he has written Covitz several letters and received no replies.

Covitz did issue Kopp one response immediately following the confirmation hearings in September. In a crisply worded letter, backed up by 10 pages of documentation from CalTrans, Covitz said the implementation of the seven-year state transportation plan, which includes projects authorized under Proposition 116, is running 97 percent on schedule

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that most of the other delays had to do with unexpected legal or environmental problems.

And then there is rent control, a subject that seems more than any other to offend Covitz' free-market sensibilities.

"Rent control is a short-term solution to a very long-term problem," he says, arguing that it depletes the supply of affordable housing by discouraging developers from building. "It does not provide for the ordinary cycle of the housing market." Covitz, who advocates legislation that would deny state grants to cities with rent-control policies, says that if controls are removed, the cycle itself provides affordable housing once the supply exceeds the demand. Consumers, he says, must simply ride out the cyclical wave.

Whether many of Covitz' plans are implemented ultimately depends on what kind of influence he has with Governor Wilson, and that may be difficult to gauge. Loren Kaye, Wilson's cabinet secretary, says Covitz and Wilson have a "close working relationship," but he carefully notes that "Governor Wilson has a close relationship with all of his cabinet members."

Richard Sybert, Wilson's director of planning and research, describes Covitz as a "key player" in the inter-agency growth-management council, and he says that the plan Covitz is working on to revamp environmental regulations is a priority for Wilson as well.

Secretary of Business, Transportation and Housing, like its federal equivalent at the Commerce Department, is traditionally a post-election reward for wealthy campaign fund-raisers who are valued more for their contacts than for their policy ideas. Covitz' Democratic detractors in Sacramento continue to view him in that light.

Covitz has been a supporter of the governor since Wilson's unsuccessful 1978 gubernatorial bid, but he insists that he was not actively involved in fund raising for the 1990 campaign. Apparently stung by the speculation that his appointment was a political payback, he is almost defensive when asked to talk about his relationship with the governor. He describes occasional meetings in San Diego and Washington and then hastens to add, "I wouldn't say we were friends."

Jeffe dismisses the idea that Covitz was appointed on the basis of anything but merit. "I think what Wilson saw was a businessman who would bring some innovations and new ideas to the job," he says.

Whatever the reason for Covitz' appointment, Kopp says the secretary's ultimate benefactor was the tug-of-war between Wilson and the Legislature about congressional and legislative redistricting — a battle in which the governor had the upper hand, given his veto power and court mandates about how the district lines should be redrawn. Kopp says that Senate Democrats who voted to confirm Covitz followed the lead of Roberti, who was trying to curry favor with Wilson. Kopp admits that he voted for Covitz himself solely as a favor to the governor, whom he considers a close friend.

"The governor thinks Covitz has the ability. I was primarily giving the benefit of the doubt to an old friend of mine," says Kopp, acknowledging that he thinks Covitz is a "reasonably smart fellow."

While Covitz may not have relished the spotlight during his confirmation hearings, he doesn't shy away from publicity — as long as it is on his own terms. He makes himself available for interviews and is prompt about returning media calls, even when that means calling from his car phone when he has already left for his weekend in Los Angeles.

"I want to get my message out," he says. "There's not enough visibility in this agency."

A case in point: Covitz scheduled one media briefing following a closed meeting with builders and bank executives to discuss the credit crunch. The post-session briefing ultimately had to be canceled when no reporters showed up.

Covitz' inclination to resolve controversies behind the closed doors of a conference room seems to have served him well. For instance, he was able to broker a deal among Southern Pacific Railroad, the California Transportation Commission, and the Joint Powers Board of San Francisco, San Mateo and Santa Clara counties when negotiations over the sale of the commuter CalTrain were on the brink of dissolving.

Covitz also has won over one liberal Democrat, who will likely be among the most vehement opponents to his plan to discourage rent control. Senator Nicholas Petris, whose East Bay district includes Berkeley and Oakland, says he has actually taken a liking to the BTH secretary. Skeptical about Covitz early on because of his involvement with the scandal-ridden HUD, Petris says that after meeting with him in private, "I decided his heart was in the right place."

Petris' fondness for Covitz grew after the secretary helped him usher through an affordable-housing proposal in Berkeley that was facing delays because of what both men describe as "red tape."

"I like him," Petris says. "He's a good man."

Advertisement

Sierra Printing

EXPERIENCE

KNOWLEDGE

Our Printing Experience And Knowledge Are Your Resources For Fantastic Results!

Celebrating Our 20th Year of Service to Political Organizations, Associations and Private Enterprise in Northern California

(916) 929-5783

2900 Rio Linda Blvd. Sacramento, CA 95815

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Pete Wilson and welfare

Ronald Reagan became governor of California and president of the United States partly by bashing "welfare queens" who supposedly ripped off taxpayers to buy Cadillacs and beer. There was an edge of resentment and, critics said, more than a tinge of racism in such anti-welfare themes of the 1960s and '70s.

DURING THE 1980s, DEMOCRATS, EAGER TO PROVE that they had updated their domestic policy since the New Deal, joined with Republicans to institute "workfare" programs that were supposed to prod welfare recipients to seek jobs. In California, liberal Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos (who was later to serve an unsuccessful term as mayor of San Francisco) joined with conservative Republican Governor George Deukmejian to sponsor one such effort. Most of these reforms have been slow to start, badly underfunded and inconclusive as to results.

Now, California's Governor Pete Wilson is leading Republicans across the nation in a new Republican assault on welfare. While Reagan mostly talked a good game about shiftless welfare recipients, Wilson wants to slash family benefits by as much as 25 percent, cut payments to teenaged mothers who drop out while rewarding those who stay in school and penalize mothers who produce more state-dependent offspring. His most popular proposal would ban newcomers, during their first year in California, from collecting benefits above what they received in their home states.

Although Wilson's welfare plan is hard-line, his rhetoric is gentler than Reagan's used to be. He describes his attack on welfare as a managerial responsibility — a matter of setting priorities in a time of state budgetary crisis. He says it's welfare vs. education.

"Instead of enriching human potential for individuals, we're spending too much money on public assistance, really maintaining them on dependence," Wilson told CBS during a recent trip to the nation's capital.

Dick Dresner, Wilson's savvy pollster, predicts welfare will become a "gigantic" issue in 1992. But he insists, "This isn't a politics of racism or bigotry that's going on here."

"You're really in this kind of trade-off situation," Dresner said. "Raise taxes, cut schools, cut police — or reform welfare. It becomes a loser in the mix. There are not many options open to state government. As a society, what do you want to do? You could make the argument that perhaps a majority of people are selfish. Or you can say they're looking at the future, and the biggest payoff is education."

The political significance of the way Wilson is packaging his anti-welfare critique was documented by a *California Poll* conducted in mid-January. It found that 61 percent oppose cutting welfare payments to families with children — but that a slim 53 percent majority approve welfare cuts for the purpose of finding money for competing state programs such as education, health and prisons.

Critics accuse Wilson as picking welfare as a whipping boy in an effort to turn around his dismal standing in the opinion polls. They say that Wilson's ballot proposition to cut welfare represents a cynical swing to the right by a mostly moderate politician who needs to win back his party's disenchanted right wing.

"I don't think it's that kind of cold and calculating," said Dresner, who openly acknowledges he has urged Wilson and other Republican clients to make welfare a major issue. "Last year, he took a more moderate approach. He raised taxes and cut services everywhere. You can still hear the screaming. Now, he has to make another set of hard choices, and he's not going to raise taxes again."

Wilson is not alone on the new anti-welfare bandwagon. In the State of the Union speech, President George Bush complained, "Welfare was never meant to be a lifestyle; it was never meant to be a habit." Appearing at a Republican fund-raiser in San Francisco on February 25th, Bush praised Wilson's plan to break "a cycle of dependency that destroys dignity."

"What can we do to help California? What can we in Washington do?" Bush asked. "Simple: We can start by getting our bureaucracy out of the way. And we'll do all we can, Pete, to remove those federal regulations, to help you cut through that web of red tape"

Across party lines, New Jersey's Democratic Governor James Florio has won passage of welfare changes much like those that Wilson is seeking. Like Wilson, Florio also has been facing a huge state budget deficit and a huge plunge in his popularity ratings after he raised taxes.

Faced with the new anti-welfare push, this year's Democratic presidential candidates have emphatically not spent much time vocally defending government aid to the poor and the homeless. They're too busy promising to help the politically indispensable "middle class."

But New York's quirky, infuriating, intriguing Governor Mario Cuomo took on Wilson and the other born-again anti-welfare crusaders. Cuomo did it in a speech in February at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government that attracted attention mostly as a transparent (and pathetically unsuccessful) effort to encourage voters in neighboring New Hampshire to write in his name in their Democratic primary.

"THE REPUBLICANS HAVE PROVEN THEY ARE masters of diversionary tactics," Cuomo said. "That's what the Pledge of Allegiance and Boston Harbor and Willie Horton were [in 1988]. That's what the 'quota' debate was about last year. And that's what the welfare debate could be about this year ... Making welfare the Willie Horton of the '92 campaign would appeal to and feed a sad, corrosive instinct for negativism and divisiveness."

"So-called welfare reform that simply cuts subsistence payments to the poor will not save us," Cuomo said, adding, "Welfare caseloads have increased dramatically in places like California, New York and New Hampshire — not because of moral weakness but because of political weakness that produced a failing economy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

New District Maps!

Everyone wants maps of the new legislative districts in effect for the 1992 elections. Here's what is available to *California Journal* subscribers:

Maps only: Set of 10 laser-printed, 8½" by 11" maps: a statewide and two blow-ups of Congress and state Senate and a statewide and three blow-ups of the Assembly districts. Price $10.00 + 78¢ tax and $2.75 shipping. (Available now).

Legislative District Map booklet: at least 10 maps plus written district descriptions and registration data. 8½" x 11, 16 pages. Prices: 1-2 copies, $4.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99 copies, $2.35 ea.; 100 or more, $1.49 ea. Add 7.75% sales tax and $2.75 shipping to each order. (Available March 30.)

Send your order to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814, or FAX your order (with credit card number) to 916/444-2339.

Ron Barrow
LEGISLATIVE ADVOCATE, NECA

Art Carter
LEGISLATIVE ADVOCATE, IBEW

Working Together

More than 37 million Americans receive no medical benefits whatsoever. Millions are children of working parents whose employers provide no benefits at all.

It's time to take action. Medical benefits are good for everyone. The employer gets loyal, high-producing workers; the worker has the benefit of knowing he and his family are protected against enormous medical costs and the customer receives the best possible workmanship available.

The National Electrical Contractors Association and The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are working together to bring fair medical benefits to workers everywhere.

We believe teamwork is the only remedy. We look forward to working together with you as well.

NECA IBEW Working Together

NATIONAL ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS LOCAL UNION 340

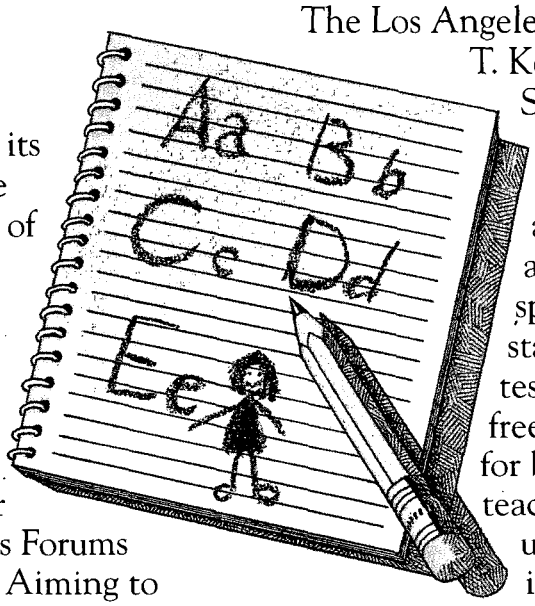
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rethinking Public Education in America

When it comes to explaining the lack of improvement in academic achievement among American children, most people are all too eager to blame the nation's school system. Yet few can agree how best to reshape U.S. elementary and secondary schools to meet the educational challenges of the 1990s.

As a company with a major presence in this country and interest in its well-being, we share the concern about the state of U.S. education.

That's why Hitachi recently joined forces with the California Chamber of Commerce and other civic-minded organizations to sponsor California Public Affairs Forums on educational reform. Aiming to develop a consensus on school reform, we invited several hundred educators, business executives, government officials, parents, and journalists from the San Francisco area to hear experts discuss their ideas on educational reform. Two days later in Los Angeles a similar audience heard another prestigious panel address the same topic.



Each forum featured a leading proponent of educational reform as its keynote speaker. In San Francisco, it was William J. Bennett, formerly U.S. Secretary of Education and now a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. The Los Angeles forum featured David T. Kearns, Deputy U.S. Secretary of Education.

Among the proposed reforms: year-around school attendance; more specialized schools; standardized achievement tests and curricula; and freedom of school choice for both parents and teachers. The speakers also urged greater business involvement in public education.

It's our hope that these ideas will contribute to a growing consensus on educational reform in the U.S.

To obtain copies of the speakers' presentations and other information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

HITACHI

© 1992 HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED